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Sam. Thompson*



C. & C. Thompson

A

COMPLEAT VIEW

OF THE

B I R T H

OF THE

PRETENDER, &c.

[Price 1s. 6d.]



226. j. 341.

April 25, 1744:

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By T. GARDNER, at Cowley's Head, opposite
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A

E. Thompson

COMPLEAT VIEW OF THE BIRTH OF THE *PRETENDER,*

AS COLLECTED

From our HISTORIES, STATE TRACTS,
and other AUTHORITIES;

IN WHICH

All the ARGUMENTS for and against that
INTRICATE BIRTH are impartially stated:

WITH AN

ABSTRACT of the DEPOSITIONS taken at an Extraordinary Council held at *Whitehall*, the 22d of *October*, 1688, the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Queen *Dowager*, his Highness Prince *GEORGE of Denmark*, with the *LORDS Spiritual and Temporal*, and Others being present.

CONCLUDING

With the Opinion of the *Cabinet Council*, and the *House of Lords*, relating to the propos'd Enquiry into the said Birth.

L O N D O N :

Printed and Published by T. GARDNER, at *Cowley's Head*, opposite St. *Clement's Church*, in the *Strand*; and M. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-noster-Row*,

MDCCXLIV.





A

COMPLEAT VIEW

O F T H E

Birth of the PRETENDER.

 T a Time when the Nation is not *Introduce-*
only at open War with, but like-*tion.*
wise threatened with an Invasion
from *France*, and all Denomina-
tions of People are expressing,
with the warmest Zeal and Affection, their just
Abhorrence of such an insolent and daring At-
tempt, perhaps it will not be thought unseason-
able to bring to the View of the *present Times*,
that Part of the Transactions of the *past*, which
relates to the Birth of the Person, in Favour of
whom we have already seen some Exertions of
the *Gallick Power*, by Fleets and Embarka-
tions; in order to support his imagined Right
to the *British Dominions*.

Certainly, if we consider for whom it is a
free People are to be enslaved; for whom it is
the Protestant Religion is to be subverted; for
whom it is this Country is to be made the Seat

B
of

of Ravage and Destruction ; our Indignation must rise in Proportion to the Iniquity of the Design ; and, it is to be hoped, will operate to the Confusion of a Cause, that is big with every Calamity, which can possibly befall Society.

The Enquiry that was to have been made into this memorable Birth, by the Convention-Parliament, which placed the Crown on King *William's* Head, was no sooner propos'd, in a manner, than it was dropp'd ; which has been the Reason, we apprehend, why the Bishop of *Worcester's* Account of that Affair, in Manuscript, and quoted by Bishop *Burnet*, never saw the Light ; and likewise why we have never had it completely attempted by others since, tho', most certainly, a Subject that was productive of so much Triumph and Pañnick to two Parts of the Nation, and of Ridicule to the rest, well deserved that it should be compiled, so as to give one comprehensive, yet concise View of the whole of that mysterious Business. It has been a Subject, that has exercis'd the Pens of a great Number of Writers, and yet it is but very little understood ; which will seem the less surprizing, if it be consider'd, that every Reader will not be at the Pains to consult the various Accounts, as they lie scatter'd in our Histories, State-Tracts, Pamphlets, and other Authorities ; whereas, by bringing the whole Evidences *pro* and *con* together, it will not only excite our Curiosity the stronger, but likewise, by being at

at an easy Expence, it has a Chance of a more general Sale, and consequently of falling into a greater Number of Hands, which, at this Juncture, it is apprehended, will not be any Difservice to the Common Cauſe.

As therefore it is a Matter of such Importance in its Consequences, and more especially as the Circumstances of the Times seem to conſpire with our Undertaking, we attempt it the more chearfully, and have spared no Pains to render our Account compleat ; at the ſame Time we have obſerv'd the strictest Impartiality to the Allegations of both Sides ; giving a fair Hearing to the *Favourers*, as well as to the *De-cryers* of the Birth ; neither adding nor diminishing any Thing, that would either heighten, or weaken the Force of their reſpective Arguments.

The Pregnancy of Queen Mary, King James *The Second's Consort*, tho' it had been whisper'd before, was now publickly confirm'd by an astonishing Proclamation, as *Rapin* terms it, *by Proclamation*. which appear'd on the Second of January, 1687-8, in the *Gazette*, declaring,

' That it had pleas'd Almighty God (who in a ſignal Manner had bleſſ'd his Majesty and his Kingdoms, under his Majesty's Government, with Prosperity, Peace, and Plenty) to give his Majesty also apparent Hopes, and good Assurance of having Issue by his Royal Consort the Queen, who, through

‘ God’s great Goodness, was now with Child :
 A Thanks giving ap- ‘ Wherefore his Majesty appoints, that on the
 pointed. ‘ Fifteenth of this January, within the Cities
 ‘ of London and Westminster, and upon the
 ‘ Twenty-ninth, in all other Places, publick
 ‘ Thanksgiving, and solemn Prayer should
 ‘ be offer’d up to God on this Occasion, in a
 ‘ Form of Prayer, and Religious Service, to be
 ‘ prepared by the Lords, the Bishops of Dur-
 ‘ bam, Rochester, and Peterborough.’

Accordingly these three Bishops, who con-
 tinued to act in the room of the suspended
 Bishop of London, drew up a Form of Thanks-
 giving and Prayer ; in which Form, the follow-
 ing Expressions in one of the Prayers have been
 particularly remember’d and reflected upon :

A particu- ‘ Blessed be that good Providence, which
 lar Prayer. ‘ has vouchsafed us fresh Hopes of Royal Issue
 ‘ by our gracious Queen Mary. Strengthen
 ‘ her, we beseech thee, and perfect what thou
 ‘ hast begun : Command thy Holy Angels to
 ‘ watch over her continually, and defend her
 ‘ from all Dangers, and evil Accidents, that
 ‘ what she has conciev’d may be happily
 ‘ brought forth, to the Joy of our Sovereign
 ‘ Lord the King, the further Establishment of
 ‘ his Crown, the Happiness and Welfare of
 ‘ the whole Kingdom, and the Glory of thy
 ‘ great Name,’ &c.

The surprizing Rapidity and Success with
 which King James had hitherto carry’d his
 Designs on the Religion and Liberties of this
 Country,

Country, were such, as had thrown the *Protestants* into a Kind of Despondency ; and the only Remedy that seem'd to be left, was the Princess of *Orange*, presumptive Heir of the Crown ; who, like another *Elizabeth*, would restore Things, they hoped, to their former State, when she should ascend the Throne : But this Piece of News struck a Damp on their flattering Expectations ; as it served greatly to elevate the *Roman Catholicks*, who were so transported on this Occasion, that they even began to debate the Question, Whether a Daughter, born since the King's Advancement to the Throne, ought not to take Place of the Princess of *Orange*, born while he was Duke of *York* ! But this Question was very needless : Every one was persuaded, the *Papists* through Hope, and the *Protestants* through Fear, that the Queen would be deliver'd of a Prince. It is very certain, the *Protestants* from this Time began to form ^{Suspicions} about the *Pregnancy*. This appear'd in several Pamphlets, Ballads and Lampoons, dispers'd through *London*, some of which were even dropp'd in *Whitehall*. Hitherto the sole Foundation of the Suspicion, that the Queen's Pregnancy was a Cheat, consisted in her having been so many Years Childless : But this Foundation was too weak to prove the Certainty of an Imposture. It was not impossible for the Queen to be with Child ; but, on the other hand, neither was it impossible that the Queen should be willing to suppose an Heir.

The

The extreme Zeal of the Queen, and of most of their Counsellors and Confidents, for their Religion, render'd such a Suspicion plausible to the Protestants. Historians have recorded the like Impostures, as in *Spain*, and in *England* itself, where it is pretended, that Queen *Mary*, to deprive her Sister *Elizabeth* of the Succession, would have supposed an Heir, had not her Husband King *Philip* prevented it. For this Reason, the Story of Queen *Mary's* Sham-Conception, as deliver'd by *Fox*, was reprinted and dispers'd through the Kingdom, with this Title ; *Idem Iterum* ; or, *Queen Mary's big Belly*. Another Cause, which contributed greatly to corroborate this Suspicion, was the Indiscretion of some Jesuits, who publish'd, That she would certainly be deliver'd of a Prince. They pretended too, that this Conception was miraculous, and the Effect of a Solemn Petition, which the late deceas'd Dutchesse of *Modena* had put up in Heaven to the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, or of a Vow the Queen had made to our Lady of *Loretto*, with the Present of a golden Image, enrich'd with Precious Stones. As on Pretence, that the Queen had been several Years Childless, her Pregnancy could not be deem'd supernatural, there was no Necessity to ascribe it to a Miracle, of which there could be no Certainty : So this needless Precaution serv'd only to confirm the Suspicion. It was further observ'd, that when the *Church of Rome* had any grand Villainy to perpetrate, there were always such Fopperies set

set on foot, and even more than were usual at other Times ; and as often as she had Recourse to them, so certain did some great Event happen afterwards. It was asked therefore, if in the whole Series of the Queen's Life she had never done those Things, for what Reason she went about them then ? And why not eight or nine Years before, or when she first came to the Crown ?

The Queen's Pregnancy, notwithstanding *Addresses* these Jealousies, produced many congratulatory *upon it.* Addresses. Some of these carry'd their Compliments and Flattery to the last Excess. This is no Wonder ; most of the Lords Lieutenants, Justices, and Magistrates of the Towns, being devoted to the King, it was not difficult for them to perswade the Corporations, that these Congratulations to the King were the just Tribute of their Duty. This being once inculcated, they drew up the Address themselves, and procured such Subscriptions as they thought proper, thereby causing the Corporations to say what they pleas'd. Were Addresses to be consider'd as containing the real Sentiments of the People, it might be said, that the whole Nation was transported with Joy, through the Hopes of a Popish Successor.

The *Carlisle* and *Scarboroug*b Addresses were those that made the greatest Noise, and which, for their Singularity, deserve a Place in this Account. That of *Carlisle* runs thus : ‘ They *that from* thank'd the King for having establish'd a *Carlisle.*

‘ *Liberty*

* *Liberty of Conscience*, and a *Royal Army*; an
 * Army, which they were convinced, whatever
 * the *Tekelites* might say, or think of it, was
 * undoubtedly for the Honour and Security of
 * the Nation. They promis'd to elect such
 * Members, as would promote a Revocation
 * of the *Test and Penal Laws*, and who had
 * never any ways declared in Favour of such
 * *Canibal Laws*; and concluded with these Ex-
 * pressions; Surely these Men, that oppose
 * your Majesty in so gracious a Work, do not
 * consider what a Sovereign Prince, by his
 * Royal Power, can do? a Work, which Hea-
 * ven smiles upon, and will reward with no less
 * a Blessing than a *Prince of Wales*; that we
 * may never want a Prince of your Royal Race
 * to sway the Scepter of these Kingdoms, while
 * either Sun or Moon shall give Light to this
 * World.' —

The Scarborough Address is as follows :

That from Scarbro'. * The Union of York and Lancaster made
 * the Inheritance of this Empire one; but your
 * Majesty's *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*,
 * has made our Interest one: Every Happiness
 * was succeeded by a greater, and every suc-
 * ceeding Age strove, as it were, to outvie the
 * former. 'Tis true, our Civil Wars have been
 * renewed in the Time of our Fathers: Eng-
 * land and Scotland have again been disunited
 * by an unnatural Rebellion; but *Liberty of
 Conscience*

‘ Conscience is so strong a Cement, that no Age
 ‘ shall be able to dissolve it ; its Firmness will
 ‘ increase by its Duration ; for all Men will
 ‘ endeavour to propagate that Blessing, which
 ‘ brings a visible Reward along with it ; and
 ‘ if the darling Argument prevails, we have
 ‘ already an ocular Experience of our Profit ;
 ‘ Men will not be more studious of trans-
 ‘ mitting a clear Title of their Possessions to
 ‘ their Children, than they will be of leaving
 ‘ an undoubted Inheritance of Trade, Society,
 ‘ and Brotherly Affection. In the first Place,
 ‘ therefore, on our Knees, we thank the God of
 ‘ Heaven for your Majesty, who, as a true
 ‘ Father of your People, has provided for
 ‘ them so rich a Patrimony of Immortal Hap-
 ‘ piness : ’Tis a Portion put out to Use for Po-
 ‘ sterity ; which in every seven Years will
 ‘ double and redouble the Principal. God
 ‘ Almighty, as we hope and pray, will grant
 ‘ you an Heir Masculine of your Body ; but
 ‘ you have already given us one of your Mind
 ‘ in your gracious Declaration : ’Tis to your
 ‘ self alone, O sacred Majesty ! that we stand
 ‘ obliged for it : We own it not to be the
 ‘ Counsel or Procurement of any other ; none
 ‘ but a wise and gracious King could have found
 ‘ it out ; none but a Catolick King has been
 ‘ able to effect it. We hope a Parliament will
 ‘ concur, and ratify this Blessing ; for this Blef-
 ‘ sing has, in a Manner, ratify’d itself by its
 ‘ own Success : ’Tis an Act already pass’d in

' the Hearts of all your loyal People ; and
 ' what it wants in *Formality* of *Law*, is sup-
 ' ply'd in the concurring *Votes* of all uninte-
 ' rested Men. It will spread like the Tree in
 ' the Vision of holy *Daniel*, 'till it over-
 ' shadows the three Nations ; and the Birds
 ' of the Air shall not only build in it, but also
 ' the Beasts of the Forest shall be secure be-
 ' neath it. May your Majesty long enjoy the
 ' Fruits of so happy a Plantation : May it be
 ' fenced about by the Care of the present Age,
 ' and made sacred to all future Time, as set
 ' by your auspicious Hands ; and as it is in our
 ' Power, so we solemnly engage ourselves to
 ' return to your Majesty two such Members
 ' to serve in Parliament, as shall vote for re-
 ' pealing the *Test*, and all *Penal Laws* in Mat-
 ' ters of Religion : Laws, which were begot
 ' under a *doubtful Title*, were bred up in *Per-*
 ' *secution*, and would subvert the fundamental
 ' *Feeedom of Conscience*, which is God's *Magna*
 ' *Charta* to all his reasonable Creatures.'

*The Birth
of the
Prince of
Wales.*

We come now to that important Period of
 Time, which produced the celebrated Birth in
 Question, and of the Person, who, during the
 Life of his Father, was known by the Name
 of the Prince of Wales, and since his Death, by
 that of the Pretender and the Chevalier. He
 was born on Trinity-Sunday, the Tenth of June,
 1688, between Nine and Ten in the Morning.
 The News of the Queen's Delivery was an
 Occasion of Triumph to the Papists, but of
 Astonish-

Astonishment and Terror to the *Protestants*,
 who saw their Hopes defeated, that their Mis-
 fortunes would end with the Death of the King.
 On the same Day, the King not only ordered
 the *Lord Mayor* to cause Bonefires, and other
 Publick Rejoicings to be made, but publish'd
 a Proclamation, ‘ That it having pleased Al- *A Procla-*
 ‘ mighty God, of his great and continued *mation up-*
 ‘ Mercy to his Majesty and his Kingdoms, to
 ‘ bless him, and his Royal Consort the Queen
 ‘ with a Son, and these his Kingdoms and Do-
 ‘ minions with a Prince, his Majesty thought
 ‘ fit to appoint a Time of *Publick Thanksgiving*
 ‘ for so great a Blessing, on *Sunday, June the*
 ‘ *Seventeenth*, within the Cities of *London* and
 ‘ *Westminster*; and on *July* the First in all
 ‘ other Places. And for this Purpose his
 ‘ Majesty had signify'd his Royal Pleasure
 ‘ to *Thomas, Lord Bishop of Rochester*, to
 ‘ prepare a Form of Religious Service and
 ‘ Publick Thanksgiving, suitable to the Oc-
 ‘ casion.’

These Days were solemniz'd with extraor- *Rejoicings*,
 dinary Rejoicings by the *Popish Party*; but *about it*.
 the *Protestants* were, for the most Part, silent
 and reserv'd, as doubting the Fact, and dread-
 ing the Consequence. His Majesty, to express
 his Satisfaction, was pleas'd, by the Queen's
 Bed-side, soon after the Delivery, to confer the
 ‘ Honour of Knighthood upon Dr. *William*
 ‘ *Waldegrave*, her Majesty's Physician, for his
 ‘ Skill and particular Services to her Majesty.

And the King, farther to shew his Exultation, bestow'd great Presents upon several of his Ministers, and gave considerable Charities to the Poor, both Natives and Foreigners: And lastly, the Birth of a Royal Son, which the *Papists* continued to call *miraculus*, produced a new Set of loyal Addresses, tho' not so fulsome as the former. Congratulations likewise were sent from the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, who order'd the Prince of *Wales* to be pray'd for in her Chapel. The naming him, upon its having been taken amiss in *England*, was afterwards discontinu'd; and then the Prince, upon Motives of Policy, order'd him to be again named in the Prayers.

But this Event, which was expected would have fix'd the King more firmly on the Throne, prov'd one, among others, which contributed to his Fall. The *Protestants* had pretty patiently borne with a *Popish Prince on the Throne*, in Expectation of a *Protestant Successor*; but their Hopes were now frustrated by the Birth of a *Prince of Wales*, who being to be brought up in the *Romish Perswasion*, would, undoubtedly, soon, or late, attempt to make *That* the national Religion. This Consideration greatly advanced the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, and increased the Number of his Friends: The *Protestants* and *Dissenters* soon after concurring to send him over an Invitation *in Form*, signed by a great Number of spiritual and temporal Lords, and by many Gentlemen and Subjects of all Ranks.

In

In the mean Time, the Doubts of the Nation greatly increased concerning his Birth, and was productive of such infinite Arguments, Opinions and Conjectures, that it will require some small Judgment to digest them with any tolerable Perspicuity.

There are three Opinions concerning the real, *Sundry Opinions concerning his Birth.*
or pretended Birth of the Prince of Wales.

The First is ; That the Queen was not with Child, when she pretended to be so ; and that at the Time of her pretended Delivery, a Son was supposed, as being born of her.

The Second is ; That she was really with Child ; but that, having the Misfortune of a Miscarriage, she continu'd still to feign herself big, and at last suppos'd, or caus'd to be suppos'd, a Child born of her Body ; and that this Child dying shortly after, another was substituted in his Room ; and to this, dying seven Weeks after, succeeded another Child.

The third Opinion is, That the Queen was really with Child, and deliver'd the Tenth of June of a Son, the same, who is since call'd the Pretender, and is now at Rome.

In Confirmation of the first of these Opinions it is alledg'd ; 1st, That the King, for certain Reasons, was become incapable of Children : 2^d, That the Queen had been seven Years without being with Child : 3^d, That now she had never a constant Reckoning : 4^{tb}, That her Delivery was sudden, and immediately after the removing of her Lodgings : 5th, That

5th, That it was on a Sunday Morning, when all the Protestant Court Ladies were at Church : 6th, That neither the Princess Anne of Denmark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, nor the Dutch Ambassador, were present at her Labour, tho' they were the three Persons who ought principally to have been there. 7th, That during the Labour, her Bed was not left so open as it should have been. 8th, That while she went with Child, she never satisfy'd the Princess Anne, and many Protestant Ladies about her, of her Bigness, either by letting them feel her Belly, or see her Breasts. 9th, Neither did she shew the Princess any of her Milk after her Lying-in, 10th, That during her Labour, a Warming-Pan was brought into the Room, tho' the Weather was extreme hot, and the Room heated by a vast Crowd of People. Lastly, It was alledg'd, that tho' the King, Queen and Courtiers sufficiently knew, before the Delivery, that the Nation suspected an Imposture, they did not use those Precautions they might and ought to have done in such a Case ; and instead of putting it beyond all Possibility of Doubt, they left so many Marks of Suspicion, as caused endless Doubts and Disputes ; insomuch, that some Roman Catholicks themselves own'd, that so important an Affair had been managed with great Supineness and Imprudence.

Dr. Welwood is very short in his Account of this Matter, and contents himself with giving
the

the general Opinion, without any thing of his own.

‘ While the Bishops were in the Tower (*says Extra^{et} Dr. be*) the *Roman Catholicks* had their Hopes ^{from Dr. Welwood:} crown’d with the Birth of a pretended Prince of *Wales*. The Fears of a *Protestant Successor*, had been the only Allay, that render’d their Prosperity less perfect. Now the Happiness of having an Heir to the Crown, to be bred up in their own Religion, quash’d all those Fears, and attor’d for the Uncertainty of the King’s Life. It was so much their Interest to have one, and there were so many Circumstances that seem’d to render his Birth suspicious, that the Nation in general were inclinable to believe, that this was the last Effort of the Party to accomplish our Ruin.’

Bishop *Burnet* is more circumstantial in his Account of this Affair.

‘ Since so much depends on this Birth, I will ^{From Bp. Burnet.} give (*says he*) as full and as distinct an Account of all that related to it, as I could gather up, either at that Time, or afterwards. The Queen had been for six or seven Years in such an ill State of Health, that every Winter brought her very near her Death. Those about her seem’d well assur’d, that she, who had buried all her Children soon after they were born, and had now for several Years ceas’d bearing, would have no more Children. Her own Priests apprehended it, and seem’d to wish for her Death. She had great ‘ and

• and frequent Distempers, that return'd often ;
 • which put all People out of their Hopes, or
 • Fears of her having any Children. Her Spi-
 • rits were now much on the Fret ; she was
 • eager in the Prosecution of all the King's
 • Designs : The Lady *Dorchester* was come
 • back from *Ireland*, and the King went often
 • to her. She had another Mortification too ;
 • *Fitz-James*, the King's Son, was made Duke
 • of *Berwick*.

• In *September*, the former Year, the Queen
 • went to the *Bath*, where the King came and
 • saw her, and stay'd a few Days with her. She
 • after that pursued a full Course of bathing ;
 • and having resolved to return at the End of
 • *September*, an Accident took her to which the
 • Sex is subject ; and that made her stay there
 • a Week longer. She came to *Windsor* on the
 • 6th of *October*. It was said, that at the very
 • Time of her coming to the King, her Mo-
 • ther, the Dutchesse of *Modena*, made a Vow
 • to the Lady of *Loretto*, that her Daughter
 • might by her Means have a Son. And it
 • went current, that the Queen believed herself
 • with Child in that very Instant in which her
 • Mother made her Vow ; of which some Tra-
 • vellers have assured me, there was a solemn
 • Record made at *Loretto*. A Conception, said
 • to be thus begun, look'd suspicious. It was
 • now fix'd to the 6th of *October* ; so the nine
 • Months were to run to the 6th of *July*. She
 • was in the Progress of her big Belly, let
 Blood,

• Blood several Times ; and the most astrin-
• gent Things that could be propos'd were
• us'd.

• It was soon observ'd, that all Things a-
• bout her Person were managed with a my-
• sterious Secrefy, into which none were admit-
• ted but a few *Papists*. She was not dress'd,
• nor undress'd with the usual Ceremony.
• Prince *George* told me, that the Princes went
• as far in desiring to be satisfy'd, by feeling the
• Motion, after she said she was quick, as she
• could go, without breaking with her : and
• she had sometimes stay'd by her even inde-
• cently long in Mornings to see her rise, and
• to give her her Shift ; but she never did ei-
• ther. She never offer'd any Satisfaction in
• that Matter by Letter to the Princes of *O-*
• *range*, nor to any of the Ladies of Quality,
• in whose Word the World would have ac-
• quiesc'd. The Thing upon this began to
• be suspected ; and some Libels were wrote,
• treating the whole as an Imposture. The
• Use the Queen made of this, was, to say,
• that since she saw some were suspecting her
• capable of so black a Contrivance, she scorn'd
• to satisfy those, who could entertain such
• Thoughts of her. How just soever this might
• be, with relation to the Libellers, yet cer-
• tainly, if she was truly with Child, she ow'd it
• to the King and herself, to the King's Daugh-
• ters, but most of all to the Infant she carried
• in her Belly, to give such reasonable Satis-

‘ faction, as might put an End to Jealousy ;
 ‘ This was in her Power to do every Day ;
 ‘ and her not doing it, gave just Grounds of
 ‘ Suspicion.

‘ Things went thus on till *Monday in Easter Week*. On that Day the King went to *Rochester*, to see some of the Naval Preparations ; but was soon sent for by the Queen, who apprehended she was in Danger of Miscarrying. Dr. *Scarborough* was come to *Knight’s Bridge* to see Bishop *Ward*, my Predecessor, who had been his antient Friend, and was then his Patient ; but the Queen’s Coach was sent to call him in all Haste, since she was near Miscarrying. Dr. *Windebank*, who knew nothing of this Matter, stay’d long that Morning upon an Appointment for Dr. *Waldegrave*, another of the Queen’s Physicians, who the next Time he saw him, excus’d himself ; for the Queen, he said, was then under the most apparent Signs of Miscarrying. Of this the Doctor made Oath ; and it is yet extant.

‘ On the same Day the Countess of *Clarendon*, being to go out of Town for a few Days, came to see the Queen before she went, knowing nothing of what had happened to her. And she, being a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the Queen Dowager, did, according to the Rule of the Court, go into the Queen’s Bed-Chamber without asking Admission. She saw the Queen in Bed, moaning herself in a most doleful Manner, saying

saying often, *Undone*; *Undone*; and one that
 belong'd to her carry'd somewhat out of the
 Bed, which she believ'd was Linnen taken
 from the Queen. She was upon this in some
 Confusion; and the Countess of *Pembroke* com-
 ing in, went to her and said with some Sharp-
 ness, What do you do here? and carried her
 to the Door. Before she had got out of the
 Court, one of the Bed-Chamber Women fol-
 lowed her, and charged her not to speak of
 any thing she had seen that Day. This Mat-
 ter, whatever was in it, was hush'd up; and
 the Queen held on her Course.

The Princess had Miscarried in the Spring;
 so as soon as she had recover'd her Strength,
 the King press'd her to go to the *Bath*, since
 that had so good an Effect on the Queen.
 Some of her Physicians, and all her other
 Friends, were against her going. *Lower*,
 one of her Physicians, told me he was against
 it: He thought she was not strong enough
 for the *Bath*, tho' the King press'd it with an
 unusual Vehemence. *Millington*, another
 Physician, told the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, from
 whom I had it, that he was pres'd to go to
 the Princess, and advise her to go to the
Bath. The Person that spoke to him, told
 him the King was much set on it, and that he
 expected it of him, that he would perswade
 her to it. *Millington* answered, he would not
 advise a Patient according to Direction, but
 according to his own Reason; so he would .

‘ not go. Scarborough and Witherly took it upon them to advise it ; so she went thither in the End of May.

‘ As soon as she was gone, those about the Queen did all of a sudden change her Reckoning, ~~and began~~ it from the King’s being with her at Bath. This came on so quick, that tho’ the Queen had set the 14th of June for her going to Windsor, where she intended to Lye-in, and all the Preparations for the Birth, and for the Children, were ordered to be made ready by the End of June ; yet now a Resolution was taken for the Queen’s Lying-in at St. James’s, and Directions were given to have all Things quickly ready. The Bath-Water either did not agree with the Princess, or the Advices of her Friends were so pressing, who thought her Absence from the Court at that Time of such Consequence, that in Compliance with them, she gave it out it did not, and that therefore she would return in a few Days.

‘ The Day after the Court had this Notice, the Queen said she would go to St. James’s, and look for the good Hour. She was often told, that it was impossible, upon so short a Warning, to have Things ready ; but she was so positive, that she said, she should lye there that Night, tho’ she would lye upon the Boards. And, at Night, tho’ the shorter and quicker Way was to go from Whitehall, to St. James’s thro’ the Park, and she always

‘ went

went that Way, yet now by a sort of Affectation, she would be carried thither by *Charing-Cross* thro' the *Pall-Mall*. And it was given out by all her Train, that she was going to be deliver'd. Some said it would be next Morning ; and the Priests said very confidently, that it would be a Boy.

The next Morning, about nine a Clock, she sent Word to the King, that she was in Labour. The Queen Dowager was sent to ; but no Ladies were sent for : so that no Women were in the Room, but two Dressers, and one Under-Dresser, and the Midwife. The Earl of *Arran* sent Notice to the Countess of *Sunderland* ; so she came. The Lady *Bella fis* came also in time. The Protestant Ladies that belong'd to the Court, were all gone to Church, before the News was let go abroad ; for it happen'd on *Trinity-Sunday*. The King brought over with him from *Whitehall* a great many Peers and Privy-Councillors ; and of these, Eighteen were let into the Bed-Chamber ; but they stood at the farther End of the Room. The Ladies stood within the Alcove. The Curtains of the Bed were drawn close, and none came within them but the Midwife and an Under-dresser. The Queen lay all the While in Bed ; and in order to the warming one Side of it, a *Warming-Pan* was brought, but it was not opened, that it might be seen that there was Fire, and nothing else in

in it. So here was Matter for Suspicion,
with which all People were fill'd.

A little before Ten the Queen cry'd out as
in a strong Pain, and immediately after, the
Midwife said aloud, she was happily brought
to Bed. When the Lords all cried out, of
what? the Midwife answered, the Queen
must not be surpriz'd; only she gave a Sign
to the Countess of Sunderland, who upon
that touch'd her Forehead, by which, it be-
ing the Sign before agreed on, the King said,
he knew it was a Boy. No Cries were heard
from the Child, nor was it shew'd to those in
the Room. It was pretended more Air was
necessary. The Under-Dresser went out of
the Room with the Child, or somewhat else,
in her Arms to a Dressing-Room, to which
there was a Door near the Queen's Bed; but
there was another Entry to it from other
Apartments. The King continued with the
Lords in the Bed-chamber for some Minutes,
which was either a Sign of much Phlegm
upon such an Occasion; for it was not known
whether the Child was alive or dead; or it
looked like giving Time for some Manage-
ment. After a little while, they went all into
the Dressing-Room, and then the News was
publish'd. In the mean while, no Body was
call'd to lay their Hands on the Queen's Belly,
in order to a full Satisfaction. When the
Princes came to Town, three Days after, she
had as little Satisfaction given her. Chamber-
lain,

• *lawn*, the Man-Midwife, who was always or-
 • der'd to attend her Labour before, and who
 • brought the Plaisters for putting back the
 • Milk, wonder'd that he had not been sent to.
 • He went, according to Custom, with the
 • Plaisters ; but he was told they had no Occa-
 • sion for him. He fancy'd that some other
 • Person was put in his Place ; but he could
 • not find that any had it. All that concern'd
 • the Milk, or the Queen's Purgations, was
 • manag'd still in the Dark. This made all
 • People inclined more and more to believe,
 • there was a base Imposture now put on the
 • Nation. That still increas'd. That Night,
 • one *Hemings*, a very worthy Man, an Apo-
 • thecary by his Trade, who liv'd in St. Martin's
 • Lane, the very next Door to a Family of an
 • eminent Papist, (*Browne*, Brother to the Vil-
 • count *Montacute*, liv'd there) the Wall be-
 • tween his Parlour and theirs being so thin,
 • that he could easily hear any thing that was
 • said with a louder Voice ; he, *Hemings*, was
 • reading in his Parlour late at Night, when
 • he heard one coming into the neighbouring
 • Parlour, and say with a doleful Voice, *The*
 • *Prince of Wales is dead*. Upon which, a
 • great many that liv'd in the House came
 • down Stairs very quick. Upon this Confusion
 • he could not hear any Thing more ; but it
 • was plain they were in a great Consternation.
 • He went with the News next Morning to
 • the Bishops in the Tower. The Countess of

Claren-

• Clarendon came thither soon after, and told
 • them, she had been at the young Prince's
 • Door, but was deny'd Access. She was
 • amaz'd at it, and ask'd, if they knew her?
 • They said, they did; but that the Queen had
 • order'd, that no Person whatsoever should
 • be suffer'd to come in to him. This gave
 • Credit to Heming's Story, and look'd as if
 • all was order'd to be kept shut up close 'till
 • another Child was found. * One that saw the
 • Child two Days after, said to me, that he
 • look'd strong, and not like a Child so newly
 • born. Windebank met Waldegrave the Day
 • after this Birth, and remember'd him of what
 • he had told him eight Weeks before. He
 • acknowledg'd what he had said; but added,
 • that

* Colonel Sands, who died in 1728, being in 1688 Gentleman-Waiter to the Princess Anne, was sent by her from Tunbridge (where she then was) to Court, to enquire after her Brother's Health. Going up immediately to the King, without Ceremony, or Interruption, as is usual in such Cases, he came into the Room where the Prince lay. He saw there a pale, long-visag'd Child, with red Spots in his Face, and other Marks of Weakness. This struck him so, that he took very particular Notice of it; but presently after, the Ladies in the Room came, and turn'd him out, saying, the Prince was asleep. At his going out, he met the King, who ask'd him, with a disturb'd Countenance, Whether he had seen the Prince? Sands, fearing he had done something amiss, deny'd it; upon which the King's Countenance clear'd up. Some Time after, he was call'd to look at the Prince; but saw a Child of very different Looks and Complexion from that which he found before. All these Particulars he committed to Writing, and carry'd them to the Princess.—Continuation of Baker's Chronicle.

* that God wrought Miracles : To which no
 * Reply could, or durst be made by the other :
 * It needed none. So healthy a Child, being so
 * little like any of those the Queen had borne,
 * it was given out that he had Fits, and could
 * not live. But those who saw him every Day,
 * observ'd no such Thing. On the contrary,
 * the Child was in a very prosperous State.
 * None of those Fits ever happen'd when the
 * Princess was at Court ; for she could not be
 * deny'd Admittance, tho' all others were. So
 * this was believ'd to be given out to make the
 * Matter more credible. It is true, some Weeks
 * after that, the Court being gone to *Windsor*,
 * and the Child sent to *Richmond*, he fell into
 * such Fits, that four Physicians were sent for.
 * They all look'd on him as a dying Child.
 * The King and Queen were sent for. The
 * Physicians went to a Dinner prepared for
 * them ; and were often wondering that they
 * were not call'd for. They took it for grant-
 * ed, that the Child was dead : But when they
 * went in, after Dinner, to look on him, they
 * saw a sound, healthy Child, that seem'd to
 * have had no Sort of Illness on him. It was
 * said, that the Child was strangely reviv'd of
 * a sudden. Some of the Physicians told *Lloyd*,
 * Bishop of *St. Asaph*, that it was impossible for
 * them to think it was the same Child. They
 * look'd on one another, but durst not speak
 * what they thought.

‘ What Truth soever may be in these Particulars, this is certain, that the Method, in which this Matter was conducted from first to last, was very unaccountable. If an Imposition had been intended, it could not have been otherwise managed. The pretended Excuse that the Queen made, that she owed no Satisfaction to those who could suspect her capable of such base Forgery, was the only Excuse that she could have made, if it had been really what it was commonly said to be. She seem’d to be soon recover’d, and was so little alter’d by her Labour, either in her Looks, or Voice, that this too helped not a little to increase Jealousies.’

Thus far Bishop Burnet.—Let us now hear what Rapin says in his Remarks on the foregoing.

*Rapin's
Reflections
upon this
Matter.*

1st, ‘ If the Accounts, *says he*, of Mr. Eachard and the Bishop of Salisbury be carefully examin’d, it will doubtless be surprizing, to find a sort of Contradiction between them. For the Suspicions mention’d by the First, are, That the Queen, tho’ she pretended to be, yet was not with Child. Nay, the Bishop seems at first to support this Suspicion, by speaking of her *great and frequent Distempers*; of her having *for several Years ceased bearing*; of her having *buried all her Children soon after they were born*; of her refusing to give Satisfaction to the Princess of Denmark, and the Protestant Ladies of the Court. Nevertheless,

less, he says positively, afterwards, that she
 was really with Child the Sixth of October,
 and that in *Easter Week* she had a Miscar-
 riage, that is, six Months after Conception.
 If this be true, it very plainly follows, that
 all the Suspicions entertain'd of the Queen
 from the Beginning of *January* (the Time of
 her declared Pregnancy) to *Easter Week*,
 ought to vanish, tho' she had been less care-
 ful of giving Satisfaction to the Publick than
 she was. Assuredly this Negligence is not
 capable to invalidate the Reality of her Preg-
 nancy, if she had a Miscarriage in the Begin-
 ning of her seventh Month. What the Prince
 of Denmark told Dr. Burnet of his Princess's
 fruitless Endeavours to see the Queen rise,
 cannot servye to confirm the Suspicion of an
 Imposture, unless it appear, that this was
 from the Monday before *Easter*, to the Tenth
 of *June*. But the Bishop fixes no Time. It
 might be even inferr'd from the Order ob-
 serv'd by the Bishop in his Story, that what
 he says concerning the Princess of Denmark,
 pass'd between *January* and *Easter Week*.
 But supposing the Reality of the Pregnancy,
 it is clear, that the Queen might have given
 Satisfaction to the Princess, and the Protestant
 Court Ladies. And it cannot be deny'd,
 that she committed a great Error in refusing
 to do it. But it is certain, this Refusal proves
 nothing, if it be true, that she was with Child,
 at least, 'till *Easter Week*. The Times are

therefore carefully to be distinguish'd. Her
 Obstinacy to give no Satisfaction, from
 January, when she declar'd herself with
 Child, to Easter Week, can be ascrib'd only
 to an unseasonable and preposterous Haugh-
 tiness. But it may be suspected, that from
 Easter Week, to the Tenth of June, she still
 pretended to be with Child, when she was no
 longer so; and she produced another at the
 Time of her pretended Delivery. Thus all
 the Suspicions concerning the Reality of her
 Pregnancy, are to be included within the
 Space of two Months. For in the Year
 1688, Easter-Day was the 15th of April;
 the Queen had a Miscarriage the Monday
 before Easter, on the 9th of April; and she
 was deliver'd the 10th of June. But no
 Time is fix'd for this Refusal of Satisfaction
 to the Publick, tho' the Queen being six
 Months gone when she miscarry'd, she might,
 for some Time, have caus'd the Motion of
 the Child to be perceiv'd.

2dly, In the Bishop of Salisbury's Account
 are four several Children. The first, which
 really belong'd to the Queen, was an un-
 timely Birth of six Months. The second was
 suppos'd at the Time of her pretended De-
 livery, and died the same Day. The third
 was brought in the Room of the dead Child,
 and died also some Weeks after at Richmond.
 The fourth, substituted in the Room of the
 third, must be the present Pretender. It is

sur-

surprizing, that Mr. *Eachard*, who probably wrote the History of this Reign, but twenty or twenty-five Years after the Time I am speaking of, should have heard nothing of these two last Impostures, but confines himself to one, in what he relates concerning the publick Suspicions?

It remains therefore to examine what the Bishop says, to make us suspect the Supposition of the three last Children. For the first, which was but a Miscarriage, according to this Author, was really the Queen's. To this End, we are to distinguish three different Times, namely, before, at, and after her Delivery. I shall make some Observations upon the most remarkable Circumstances of each of these Times.

1st, The King's pressing the Princess to go to the *Bath*, agrees very well with the Design of supposing an Heir ; for the Presence of the Princess at the Queen's pretended Delivery, must have been perplexing, on account of her Interest to detect the Imposture. Had the King contented himself with barely advising her to go to the *Bath*, nothing could have been inferr'd from it, but that he thought the *Bath* good for her Health : But his pressing it with an unusual Vehemency, and causing a Physician to be told, That he expected of him that he would perswade her to it, seems to discover some secret Design, especially, when it is consider'd, that an Imposture

ture was already suspected. This Suspicion
 is farther confirm'd by the Change in the
 Queen's Reckoning, and by her Delivery two
 Days after it was known, that the Princess
 was upon the Point of returning from the
Bath. But there must not be given to this
 Cause of Suspicion, more Strength than it
 really has : For it is very possible for the
 King to have believ'd, that the *Bath* would
 be of Service to the Princess his Daughter ;
 the Suspicion of his acting from another Mo-
 tive, is founded only upon the Supposition
 of an Imposture. If this was well prov'd,
 the King's Proceeding would become a sort
 of new Proof : But, as it is not, it seems
 that the Suspicion ought not to be supported
 by the Supposition of the Fact in Question.

2dly, If it be true, that the Queen did
 not believe herself with Child 'till the 6th of
October, and that she afterwards suddenly
 chang'd her Reckoning, there is Reason to
 suspect some Mystery in it. And indeed, by
 this new Reckoning, she was to be brought
 to Bed during the Absence of the Princess of
Denmark, whereas by the first she could not
 be deliver'd 'till after her Return. To this
 may be added, that if it is true, that about
 the End of *September* she was stopp'd at the
Bath one Week longer than she intended, by
 an Accident to which the Sex is subject, she
 could not be with Child from the 10th of
September, nor consequently brought to Bed
 the

the 10th of June. To this it is answer'd; that these Misreckonings are common to the whole Sex. But this Reason cannot take place here, because it did not appear that the Queen thought herself mistaken.

3dly, It cannot be deny'd, that there is something extraordinary in the Queen's sudden Resolution of going to lye-in at St. James's, when Things were not ready. Hitherto no probable Reason has been given of this sudden Change, to shew that she could lye-in more commodiously at St. James's than at Whiteball, nor why she at first chose Windsor for the Place, and fixed the Time to the Beginning of July.

4tbly, I own I see nothing in the Queen's Affectation of being carry'd to St. James's by Charing-Cross, through the Pallmall, to confirm the Suspicion of an Imposture.

5tby, I never heard, that the Presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury is absolutely necessary at the Delivery of the Queens of England, who could have no great Need of his Assistance.

As for the Time of the Queen's Delivery, there are many Things to be examin'd.

1st, The Queen, after having declared her Intention to lye-in at St. James's, without any apparent Necessity, was bent to go thither on the Saturday, tho' nothing was ready. This is a Sign, she thought it would be too late, if she deferr'd going until the next Day. It is

there-

therefore clear, that she expected the Moment of her Delivery every Hour, and yet when she began to find herself ill, no Women were in the Room but two Dressers, one Under-Dresser, and the Midwife. Not one foreign Lady was in the Palace. It cannot be deny'd, that this was very extraordinary for a Queen, since it was so easy to have other Ladies at hand to assist her, and the more, as she hourly expected the Moment of her Delivery. It is no less extraordinary, that none of the Court Ladies besides the Countess of Sunderland, by the particular Care of the Earl of Arran, and the Queen Dowager, who lodg'd in Somerset-House, a great Way from St. James's. All this seems to discover, it was not desired, that many Ladies should be present at the Labour. To this it is answer'd, that the Queen was surpriz'd, as Women frequently are, and that the Protestant Ladies were at Church. But some take Occasion from hence to confirm their Suspicion. They suppose, the Queen would not have gone with so much Precipitation on Saturday Night to St. James's, if she had not known she should be deliver'd the next Morning, while the Protestant Ladies were employ'd at their Devotions. But after all, this is only a Suspicion; for who can be sure that the Queen acted by the Motive ascrib'd to her? All that can be said, is, that the Point in Question, being

‘ ing a Child, who, if a Boy, was to take Place
 ‘ of a Princess, presumptive Heir of the King
 ‘ her Father, the King and Queen ought to
 ‘ have put his Birth out of all Doubt. Instead
 ‘ of this, they confirm’d, by a mysterious Con-
 ‘ duct, Suspicions, which were already but too
 ‘ far spread, and of which they could not be
 ‘ ignorant. The Empress *Constantia*, Wife of
 ‘ *Henry IV*, proving with Child at the Age
 ‘ of 52 Years, chose a Place the most publick
 ‘ for her Labour, and thereby removed all
 ‘ Suspicion of the Birth of her Child. On the
 ‘ contrary, the Queen, for having neglected all
 ‘ Precautions, has left upon her Son, real, or
 ‘ pretended, a Blot, which has not yet been
 ‘ effaced.

‘ 2dly, The King’s being at the further End
 ‘ of the Room with eighteen Peers and Privy-
 ‘ Counsellors, is a Circumstance, which proves
 ‘ nothing at all. It is well-known, that on
 ‘ these Occasions Men approach not the Bed,
 ‘ to be Eye-witnesses of what passes there. All
 ‘ they can do, is to be attentive to the Cries
 ‘ of the Mother, or the Infant. Besides, the
 ‘ King himself was not less suspected than the
 ‘ Queen,

‘ 3dly, As to the *Warming-Pan* brought into
 ‘ the Queen’s Chamber, and which is suppos’d
 ‘ to have in it a new-born Child, this is only a
 ‘ Conjecture, founded upon the seeming Use-
 ‘ lessness of a *Warming-Pan*, the 10th of June,
 ‘ which proved an excessive hot Day. To

‘ this it is answer’d, that a Labour is often attended with a Quaking and Trembling, like an Ague, which begins with a cold Fit. It is also pretended, that it was impossible to put a new-born Child in the narrow Compaſs of a *Warming-Pan*, without stifling it.

‘ 4thly, It is very extraordinary, that the Queen was not a full Hour in Labour ; for the King was sent for at nine o’Clock, and before ten the Queen was deliver’d. She cry’d out but once, in the Moment of her Delivery. When the Mind is fill’d with Suspicions, such Circumstances help to confirm them. Those who are not in the same Disposition, find nothing extraordinary in this ; because the Queen had ever had easy and quick Labours.

‘ 5thly, It is commonly true, that Children, the Moment they are born, and expos’d to the Air, are heard to cry. But I know not whether this can be consider’d as infallible. However, the Queen having neglected to give undoubted Proofs of her Pregnancy, every little uncommon Circumstance was capable to confirm the Suspicion of an Im- poſture.

‘ 6thly, As to the Stress that is laid upon the Curtains of the Bed being closely drawn, this cannot seem strange, since there were 18 Lords in the Room.

‘ 7thly, The Circumstance of the Child’s being not shewn, can cause no Suspicion, but on

‘ Sup-

Supposition of the Suspicion itself, which ought to have been removed by shewing the Child as it came from the Womb. For, otherwise, it is not usually done, till the Mid-wife has taken due Care of the Child. But, if this is urg'd to prove, that a Child was not taken out of the Queen's Bed, the Suspicion of the *Warming-Pan* must necessarily be suppress'd ; for had a Child been put in the *Pan*, it could also be taken out of it.

8thly, What is said of the King's continuing with the Lords some Minutes in the Bed-Chamber, and that it look'd like giving Time for some Management, is a Glosse which deserves little or no Notice.

9thly, Those who believe the Child in question, not born of the Queen, would have had her take all the Precautions which they themselves cou'd imagine, to destroy all Sort of Doubt ; and the Omission of one of these Precautions, is, with them, sufficient to confirm their Suspicions.

10thly, If no Satisfaction was given to the Princess of Denmark after her Return from the Bath, it may be alledg'd, that she discover'd no Jealousy concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales, and as she appear'd convinced of the Truth, there was no Necessity of giving her Proofs.

11thly, The Refusal of Chamberlain's Plaints wou'd be very apt to cause a Suspicion, if it was impossible for the Queen's Breasts not

• to want them. But how many Labours are
 • there, which have no need of Remedies for
 • putting back the Milk? However, Bishop
 • Burnet obviates this Answer, by saying, that
 • in her former Labours, the Queen had always
 • great Plenty of Milk.
 • 12thly, What is said of the Queen's recover-
 • ing so soon after, proves nothing. Some Mo-
 • thers have so easy Labours, that in a few Days
 • one can hardly perceive any Alteration in
 • them: Besides, it is too general an Expres-
 • sion, to say *The Queen seem'd to be soon recov-
 • ered.* The precise Time should have been
 • mark'd, that it might be judg'd, whether there
 • was any Thing extraordinary in it.
 • Nevertheless all these Reasons of Suspicion
 • laid together, make an Impression upon ma-
 • ny Men, which each in particular wou'd not
 • be able to do. We must always recur to this
 • Point, that the King and Queen, knowing
 • that they were suspected of an Imposture,
 • ought to have taken just Measures to remove
 • the Suspicion, and not having done it, it is
 • not very strange it should continue to this
 • Day.
 • As to what pass'd after the Delivery, I
 • mean the Supposition of two Children, when
 • the first was dead, the Bishop's Account rests
 • only upon the Credit of some Persons, whom
 • he has given for Vouchers, and of others not
 • named by him. There are, besides, several
 • Particulars,

- Particulars, in Proof of which he produces no Testimony.
- He supposes, that the Child of which it was pretended the Queen was deliver'd, dy'd the same Day : This Supposition is grounded upon what *Hemings* heard thro' the Wall of his Parlour ; and upon Denial of Access at the young Prince's Door to the Countess of *Clarendon*. All this may be of some Weight, when a bare Suspicion only is meant to be establish'd ; but if it is produc'd as a Proof, the Insufficiency of it is easily seen.
- The Death of the Child at *Richmond* stands only upon the Report of four Physicians, who were sent for to visit him. The Bishop does not make the Physicians positively say, that the Child dy'd, but only that *they all looked on him as a dying Child* ; and as they were not call'd for after Dinner, *they took it for granted that the Child was dead* : But this Consequence is not absolutely necessary ; for possibly they were not call'd, because the Child grew better. But, says the Bishop, *When they went in after Dinner to look on the Child, they saw a sound healthy Child, that seem'd to have had no Illness on him*. They inferr'd from this, that he was not the same Child, and the Bishop concludes, that the first was dead, and another put in his Room. What is particular in this Fact, is, that these four Physicians doubted this was the same Child, only because the first had been sick, and this was found and *healthy* ;

* healthy ; as if all Children, at such an Age,
 * were so like one another, that no Feature
 * could distinguish them : And yet these Phy-
 * sicians thought it was not the same Child, on-
 * ly by the Difference between a State of Health
 * and Sickness. This is very surprizing, since
 * naturally the Faces of the two Children must
 * have been so different, as not to need other
 * Marks.

* In short, the Bishop's whole Account of
 * these three Impostures, rests either upon Hear-
 * say, or what he read in the Informations sent
 * to the Prince and Princess of Orange ; for he
 * was then at the *Hague*. The Senders of these
 * Informations were, probably, no Friends of
 * King James. It is, therefore, very possible,
 * not to say likely, that they have aggravated
 * their Reports, and collected every Circum-
 * stance, true or false, which was apt to per-
 * suade the Prince and Princess, that the Prince
 * of Wales was supposititious.

Such were the Reasonings that had been urged in Conversation and in Print on both Sides of the Question, when another Incident presented itself, that furnished fresh Matter for Conviction and Objection. The Prince of Orange's Designs were now become too glaring to be concealed, and a sudden Invasion stared the alarmed King in the Face, which had that Effect on him, that generally attends Guilt and Fear, in making him have Recourse to Condenscensions that wore the Aspect of Necessity, and
 not

not of Inclination. The Ecclesiastical Commission was annulled, new Writs were ordered out, Popish Chapels shut up, the Charters restored, and, by way of After-game, the Nation must now be satisfied as to the Birth of the Prince of Wales, which was to be supported at all Events. Accordingly the King caused him to be solemnly baptized upon the 15th of October^{Prince of Wales}, in the Chapel of St. James's, the Pope, re-baptized. presented by his Nuntio, being Godfather, and the Queen-Dowager Godmother. Father ^{Sa-}
^{ban} officiated, and named him *James, Francis, Edward*. At the same Time the Court received a Pamphlet, published in Holland, and intitled, *A Memorial of the English Protestants, presented to their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange*, supposed to be written by Dr. Burnet, or rather Major Wildman, wherein, after a long Narrative of the Grievances of the Nation, the Author complained of the King's obliging his Subjects to own a supposititious Child for the Prince of Wales, adding, *that his Majesty would never suffer the Witnesses that were present at the Queen's Delivery, to be heard and examined*. Upon which (the Pamphlet making a great Noise) the King held an extraordinary Council ^{The King calls an extraordinary} at Whitehall the 22d of October; and having sent for the Queen-Dowager, and all such Lords Council to Spiritual and Temporal as were then in Town, ^{prove the Birth of} the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the Judges, and several of his Majesty's learned Council, in a Speech he told them, *'He His Speech had to them.*

* In Exeter, Father Labin.

had called them together upon a very extra-
 ordinary Occasion; but that extraordinary
 Diseases must have extraordinary Remedies;
 that the malicious Endeavours of his Enemies
 had so poisoned the Minds of some of his
 Subjects, that by the Reports he had from all
 Hands, he had Reason to believe, that very
 many did not think this Son, with which God
 had blessed him, *to be his, but a supposed Child.*
 But he might say, that by a particular Provi-
 dence, scarce any Prince was ever born, where
 there were so many Persons present. That he
 had taken this Time to have the Matter heard
 and examined there, expecting that the Prince
 of Orange, with the first Easterly Wind, would
 invade this Kingdom: And as he had often
 ventured his Life for the Nation before he
 came to the Crown, so he thought himself
 more obliged so to do now he was King, and
 did intend to go in Person against him,
 whereby he might be exposed to Accidents,
 and therefore he thought it necessary to have
 this now done, in order to satisfy the Minds
 of his Subjects, and to prevent the Kingdom's
 being engaged in Blood and Confusion after
 his Death: That he had desired the Queen-
 Dowager to give herself the Trouble to come
 thither to declare what she knew of the Birth
 of his Son; and that most of the Ladies,
 Lords, and other Persons who were present,
 were ready to depose upon Oath their Know-
 ledge of this Matter.³

Whereupon

*Whereupon the Queen-Dowager was pleased
to make the following Declaration:*

' That when the King sent for her to the
' Queen's Labour, she came as soon as she
' could, and never stirred from her till she was
' delivered,'

Besides the Declaration of the Queen-Dowager, the Depositions of forty Persons more were taken in Form. Of these Witnesses seventeen were *Roman Catholics*, viz. the Duchesses of *Richmond*, the Marchioness of *Powis*, the Countesses of *Peterborough*, *Fingall*, and *Litchfield*; the Lady *Bulkeley*, the Lady *Waldegrave*, Mrs. *Mary Crane*, Mrs. *Isabella Waldegrave*, Mrs. *Pelegrina Turini*, an *Italian*; Mrs. *Anne Cary*, Mrs. *Mary-Anne Delabadié*, a *French Woman*, Dry-Nurse to the Prince; Mrs. *Judith Wilks*, the Queen's Midwife; the Lady *Arundel* of *Wardour*; the Earls of *Murray* and *Melfort*, and Sir *William Waldegrave*, first Physician to the Queen. The *Protestants* were twenty-three in Number, viz. the Countesses of *Arran*, *Sunderland*, *Roscommon*, and *Marischall*; *Susanna Lady Bellasis*, the Lady *Isabella Wentworth*, Mrs. *Catherine Sayer*, Mrs. *Margaret Dawson*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Bromley*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Pearse*, the Lord-Chancellor *Jeffreys*, the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Mulgrave*, *Craven*, *Feverham*, and *Middleton*, Sidney Lord *Godol-*

pbin, Sir Stephen Fox, Lieutenant-Colonel Griffin, Sir Charles Scarborough, first Physician to the King ; Dr. Robert Brady, one of his Majesty's Physicians in Ordinary, and Mr. James St. Amand, their Majesties Apothecary.

The following Depositions were all taken upon Oath.

Depositions taken. Lady Powis said, ‘ That about the 29th of December last, the Queen was likely to miscarry ; whereupon she immediately went unto her, and offered her some effectual Remedies, proper in such Cafes, with which the Queen ordered her, this Deponent, to acquaint the Doctors. Said, the Day following, the Queen-Dowager sent her, this Deponent, to see how the Queen did ; who replied, she had had a pretty good Night, and did think that she had quickened, but would not be positive till she felt it again. Said, she frequently waited on the Queen, saw her Shift several times, and generally saw the Milk, and sometimes wet, upon her Smock. Said, she was present in the Room at the Time of the Delivery of the Prince ; that she saw him carried by Mrs. Delabadie into the Queen’s Little Bed-chamber, where she saw Sir Thomas Witherly, sent for by the Mid-wife, who gave the Child three Drops of something which came into the World with him. And this Deponent doth aver this Prince to be

be the same Child which was then born, she never having been from him one Day since.'

Lady *Arran* said, ' That she had seen the Milk run out upon the Queen's Smock several Times during her being with Child ; that when she went to the Labour, she found the Queen in Bed, complaining of little Pains ; that as soon as her Majesty was deliver'd, she said, *O Lord, I don't bear the Child cry* ; and immediately upon that, this Deponent did hear it cry, and saw the Midwife take the Child out of the Bed, and give it to Mrs. *Delabadié*, who carried it into the Little Bed-chamber, where she, this Deponent, follow'd her, and saw that it was a Son.'

Countess of *Peterborough* said, ' She often saw the Milk upon her Majesty's Smock when with Child, and frequently saw her Belly, so as it could not be otherwise but that she was with Child : Said, she stood by the Bed-side while the Queen was deliver'd of the Prince of *Wales*.'

Countess of *Sunderland* said, ' That as soon as she, this Deponent, went into the Queen's Bed-chamber, her Majesty told her, she believed she was in Labour. Said, by this Time, the Bed was warm'd, and the Queen went into Bed, and the King came in : Said, the Queen ask'd the King, if he had sent to the Queen Dowager ? who answer'd, he had sent for every Body. Said, that after some lingering Pains, the Queen said, she feared she should not be brought to Bed a good while ; but enquiring

of the Midwife, she assur'd her Majesty, that she wanted only one thorough Pain to bring the Child into the World : Upon which the Queen said, it is impossible, the Child lies so high, and commanded this Deponent to lay her Hand on her Majesty's Belly, to feel how high the Child lay, which the Deponent did ; but soon after a great Pain came on at past Nine of the Clock, and the Queen was deliver'd. Said, when the Midwife had done her Office, she gave the Child to Mrs. *Delabadie*, who carried it into the Little Bed-chamber.'

Lady *Roscommon* said, ' That she saw the Prince of *Wales*, when he was taken out of the Bed by the Midwife.'

Lady *Fingall* deposed the same, and further said, ' That she saw the Prince in the Little Bed-chamber.'

Lady *Bulkeley* said, ' That she heard the Queen say to the Midwife, *Pray, Mrs. Wilks, don't part the Child*, (which signifies, don't cut the Navel-String, until the After-Burthen is come away.) Said, Mrs. *Wilks* reply'd, *Pray, Madam, give me Leave, for I will do nothing but what will be safe for yourself and Child.* Said, the Queen answer'd, do then ; and then cry'd, *Where is the King gone ?* Said, his Majesty came immediately from the other Side of the Bed, from having a Sight of the Child, and answer'd the Queen, *Here I am.* Said, the Queen said, *Why do you leave me now ?* Said, the King kneel'd on the Bed, on the other Side where

where the Deponent stood, and a little after
 Midwife said, *All is now come away.* Upon
 that the King arose from the Bed, and said,
Pray, my Lords, come and see the Child. Said,
 she followed the King and the Lords into the
 Little Bed-chamber, where she saw that it was
 a Prince, and that Mrs. *Wilks* was in the right
 to desire to *part the Child*, for the Prince's Face,
 especially his Forehead, was blackish, being
 stunn'd. Said, that for the last three or four
 Months, she, this Deponent, hath oftentimes
 seen the Queen's Milk, when she has had the
 Honour to put on her Majesty's Smock.'

Lady *Bellafis* said, 'That when she went in-
 to her Majesty's Bed-chamber, she found the
 Queen in Bed, and the Midwife sitting by the
 Bed-side, with her Hands in the Queen's Bed.
 Said, the Queen ask'd the Midwife, what she
 thought? Said, Mrs. *Wilks* assur'd her Majesty
 that at the next great Pain the Child would be
 born; whereupon the King ordered the Privy-
 Councillors to be call'd in; that she, this De-
 ponent, stood behind the Midwife's Chair, and
 immediately after the Queen's having another
 great Pain, the Prince was born. Said, that
 she saw the Child taken out of the Bed, with the
 Navel-String hanging to its Belly; that she
 opened the Receiver, and saw it was a Boy,
 and not hearing the Child cry, and seeing it a
 little black, she was afraid it was in a convul-
 sive Fit.'

Lady

of *Lady Waldegrave* said, 'She stood by the Bed-side; saw the Queen in Labour; and heard her cry out much.'

Mrs. Mary Crane said; 'That she went with the Queen Dowager to the Queen's Labour, and never stirr'd out of the Room till the Queen was deliver'd. Said; that she did not follow the Child when it was carry'd out of the Room; but stayed in the Bed-chamber; and saw all that was to be seen after the Birth of a Child.'

Lady Wentworth said; 'That she often saw the Milk of her Majesty's Breast upon her Smock, at which the Queen was troubled; it being a common Saying, that it was a Sign the Child would not live. Said, that she once felt the Child stir in the Queen's Belly, while her Majesty was in Bed. Said, she was present when the Child was born, and stayed till she heard it cry, and then went to fetch Vinegar for the Queen to smell to. Said, she saw the Navel-String of the Child cut, and three Drops of the Blood which came fresh out, given to him for the Convulsion Fits.'

Dame Catherine Sayer said, 'That she waited on the Queen Dowager to the Queen's Labour, and was all the Time by the Bed-side, and stood there till the Queen was delivered. Said, she followed the Child when it was carried by *Mrs. Delabadié* to the Little Bed-Chamber; that she took a warm Napkin, and laid it on the Child's Breast, believing the Child was not well.'

Lady

Lady *Waldegrave* said, ' She was constantly with the Queen ; had often seen Milk on her Majesty's Breasts ; was present at the Labour ; saw the Prince taken out of the Bed ; went after Mrs. *Delabadié* into the Little Bed-Chamber ; was by when the Child was shewn to the King, and saw that it was a Son. Said further, that she, this Deponent, took the After-burden and put it into a Basin of Water, and carried it into the Queen's Closets.'

Mrs. *Margaret Dawson* said, ' That on Trinity-Sunday, in the Morning, she was sent for by the Queen out of St. James's Chapel, where she was at Prayers, and that coming into the Queen's Chamber, she found her sitting all alone upon a Stool by the Bed's Head, when the Queen said to her, she believed herself in Labour, and bid her, the Deponent, get the Pallat-Bed, which stood in the next Room, to be made ready quickly for her ; but that Bed having never been air'd, the Deponent persuaded the Queen not to make use of it ; after which the Queen bid the Deponent make ready the Bed she came out of, which was done accordingly. Said, that she saw Fire carried into the Queen's Room in a Warming-Pan to warm the Bed, after which the Queen went into her Bed, and that the Deponent stirred not from the Queen until her Majesty was delivered of a Son. She, this Deponent, further said, that she well remembers, that on the 29th of December last her Majesty was afraid of miscarrying, which was

was about the Time she quickened ; and that after the Queen had gone twenty-two Weeks with Child, her Majesty's Milk began to run, which she, the Deponent, often saw upon her Smock ; and that the 9th of *May* her Majesty apprehended miscarrying again with a Fright.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Bromley* said, ‘ That she came into Waiting a little before *Easter* last ; that from that Time till the Queen was brought to Bed, she saw the Queen put on her Smock every Morning, by which Means she saw the Milk constantly fall out of her Majesty's Breasts, and observed the Bigness of her Majesty's Belly, which could not be counterfeit. Said, that she was present at the Labour; and remained in the Room till the Queen was delivered, and afterwards; but did not follow the Child till some time after, when she went to see what coloured Eyes he had.’

Mrs. *Pelegrina Turini* said, ‘ That she was in Waiting on the 10th of *June*, when her Majesty called her in the Morning, and told her she was in Pain, and bid her send for the Mid-wife, her Ladies and Servants; after which she, the Deponent, staid with the Queen till she was delivered of the Prince of *Wales*.’

Mrs. *Anne Cary* said, ‘ That she waited on the Queen-Dowager from *Somerset-House* to *St. James's* the Day the Queen was brought to Bed, and went into the Queen's Bed-chamber, where she, the Deponent, staid till the Queen was delivered,

delivered, and saw the Prince as soon as he was born.

Mrs. *Mary-Anne Delabadié*, Dry-Nurse, said, That she was with the Queen all the Time her Majesty was with Child, and dress'd her every Day, and in all the nine Months did not miss above six Days, and that at several times, by Reason of Sickness. Said, that she was sent for on *Sunday Morning*, the 10th of *June*, to the Queen, who was in Labour; that she was with the Queen all the Time of her Labour; and that, kneeling down by the Midwife, giving her Cloths for the Queen, she told this Deponent, that immediately on the next Pain, the Queen would be delivered, which accordingly she was. Said, that the Midwife parted the Child, put it into the Receiver, and then delivered the Child to the Deponent, and bid her go and carry it to the Fire, and take care of the Navel, which this Deponent did, and the King and Council followed her, and the King asked this Deponent *What is was?* who answered, *What be desired.* The King replied, *But let me see;* Whereupon the Deponent presently shewed his Majesty that it was a Son, and the Privy-Councillors, then present, saw it one after another. Said, that she sat with the Prince in her Lap till the Midwife had done with the Queen; that the Midwife then came and took the Prince from her, and asked for a Spoon to give him three Drops of the Blood of the Navel-String. Said, that she held the Spoon when the Mid-

wife dropt the Blood into it, and stirred it with a little *Black-Cerry-Water*, and then it was given to the Prince. Further said, that Mrs. *Darvers*, one of the Princes of *Denmark's* Women, coming to see the Prince, told her, she was glad to see the same Marks upon his Eye as the Queen's former Children had.

Mrs. *Juditb Wilks*, Midwife, said, ' That she came often to the Queen, especially when her Majesty was in any Danger of miscarrying, and many times felt the Child stir in her Belly, and saw the Milk run out of her Majesty's Breasts. Said, that on *Trinity-Sunday* last in the Morning, about 8 o'Clock, the Queen sent for *White*, Page of the Back-stairs, to call this Deponent. Said, she found the Queen in great Pain and trembling; that the Queen told her, she feared it was her Labour, it being near the Time of her first Reckoning; that she desired her Majesty not to be afraid, saying, she did not doubt that it was her full Time, and hoped her Majesty would have as good a Labour as she always had; that whilst her Majesty was sitting trembling, her Water broke, and immediately she sent for the King, and let him know in what Condition she was, and desired him to send for whom he pleased to be present. Said, the Queen ordered her to send for Mrs. *Dawson*, and the rest of her Women; that Mrs. *Dawson* came presently, and the Countess of *Sunderland* with her, and the rest of the Women also. Said, that most of them saw her make

make the Bed fit for the Queen to be delivered in, which, when it was ready, her Majesty was put into; and that about 10 o'Clock that Morning the Queen was delivered of the Prince of *Wales*. Said, that she afterwards shewed the After-burthen to the Physicians, and before them cut the Naval-Siring, and gave the Prince, according to their Order, three Drops of his Blood to prevent Fits. Said further, that the Child not crying when it was born, the Queen said she thought it was dead; that she assured her Majesty it was not, and desired Leave to part the Child from the After-burthen, which the Queen was unwilling to have done, thinking it might be dangerous to herself; but upon her assuring her Majesty it would not, her Majesty gave Consent; whereupon the Child presently cried, and then she gave it to Mrs. *Delabadié*.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Pearse*, Laundress, said, 'That she was at the Queen's Labour; saw the Prince of *Wales* given to Mrs. *Delabadié*; that immediately after she saw the Midwife hold up the After-burthen, shewing it to the Company; that she and her Maids took away all the foul Linnen, hot as they came from the Queen; that for a Month after her Majesty's Lying-in, the Deponent well knew, by the washing of her Linnen, that the Queen was in the same Condition that all other Women use to be on the like Occasion; and that some Time after her Quickening, it appeared by her Smocks,

that her Majesty had Milk in her Breasts, which continued until she was brought to Bed, and afterwards, during the usual Time.'

Duchess of *Richmond* said, 'That at a Time when the Queen apprehended she should miscarry, and the Physicians made her Majesty keep her Bed for that Reason, the Deponent went one Evening to wait upon her Majesty, and as she stood by the Bedside, her Majesty said to her, *My Milk is now very troublesome, it runs out so much.* Said, she asked the Queen if it used to do so? who answered, *It used to run out a little, but now the Fright I am in of miscarrying makes it run out, as you may see,* throwing down the Bed-Clothes to the Middle of her Stomach, and shewing her Smock upon her Breast to the said Deponent, which was very wet with her Milk.'

Countess of *Litchfield* said, 'That she was almost constantly with the Queen, while she was with Child, and had put on her Smock, and seen the Milk run out of her Breast, and felt her Belly, so that she was sure she could not be deceived, but that the Queen was with Child.'

Countess of *Marischall* said, 'That she had been several times in the Queen's Bed-Chamber when she shifted herself, and had seen her Smock stained with her Milk, and that she did in her Conscience believe her Majesty was with Child, both by her Belly and her Milk.'

Lord-Chancellor *Jeffreys* said, 'That he was sent for to the Queen's Labour, and soon after his

his coming to St. James's, was sent for into the Queen's Bed-Chamber ; that he apprehended the Queen was in Labour, and that she had a Pain or two before the rest of the Lords were called in. Said, that he stood all the Time at the Queen's Bed-side, and heard her cry out several times, as Women in Travel use to do ; and at length, after a long Pain, it was by some of the Women on the other Side of the Bed said, the Child was born. Said, that he heard the Queen say, *She did not bear it cry* : That he asked the Lord-President what it was, who whispered, that it was a Boy, which the Deponent understood he had hinted to him by the Lady Sunderland ; That he saw the Child carried into another Room, whither he followed, and saw the Child when the Nurse first opened it, and saw it was black and reaking ; so that it plainly seemed to him to have been newly come from the Womb, and that therefore he did stedfastly believe the Queen was delivered of that Child that very Morning.

Earl of Sunderland said, ‘That on Sunday Morning, the 10th of June last, he was sent for to come to St. James's, the Queen being in Labour. That he immediately went, and found many Lords of the Council there ; that after having been some Time in an outward Room, first the Lord-Chancellor, and then the rest of the Council was called into the Queen's Bed-Chamber, where in a short time her Majesty was brought to Bed ; that he saw Mrs.

Delabadi

Detobadie carry the Child into the next Room, whither he follow'd, with many more, and saw it was a Boy, and had the Marks of being new-born.'

Lord Arundel of Wardour said, 'That in less than a Quarter of an Hour after, he, and several Lords of the Council, had been call'd into the Queen's Bed-chamber, her Majesty fell into the Sharpness of her Labour. That her Cries were so vehement, especially the last, that he could not help being concern'd for her great Pain; and that soon after the Queen was deliver'd of a Prince, as he had heard it whisper'd, for no Man was permitted to speak it aloud, lest the sudden Knowledge of it might have discompos'd the Queen.'

Earl of Mulgrave said, 'That he was just at the Bed's Foot, and heard the Queen cry very much: That he follow'd the Child into the other Room, and saw it was a little black; and that it was a Boy.'

Earl of Craven said, 'That he was call'd, with some other Lords of the Privy-Council, into the Queen's Great Bed-chamber, to be present at her Delivery: That, as near as he could remember, the Queen made three Groans, or Squeaks, and at the last of the three was deliver'd of a Child, which was carry'd out into the Little Bed-chamber; and that there, by the Fire, he saw it cleansing. Said further, that he took that particular Mark of this Child, that he could safely aver, that the Prince of Wales

is

is that very Child, that then was so brought out of the Queen's Great Bed-chamber?

Earl of Feversham said, " That he led the Queen Dowager into the Queen's Bed-chamber, and finding the Queen in Pain, went into the next Room, where were several Lords of the Privy-Council, from whence he heard the Queen cry out several Times; and a very little after, the Lords of the Council were call'd in, and that he follow'd them into the Bed-chamber, and a very little after, the Queen cry'd louder, and then said, *Pray don't tell me what it is yet.* Said, that he follow'd Mrs. Delabadié into the Little Bed-chamber, where he saw the Prince, as a Child newly born, as he believ'd it."

Earl of Murray said, " That he verily believ'd, as he was alive, that the Queen brought into the World a Prince, that very Morning, being the 20th of June last, 1688."

Earl of Middleton said, " That upon asking his Majesty how the Queen was, his Majesty was pleas'd to answer, That the Water was broke: That he went into the Dressing-Room within the Bed-chamber, where he found several Persons of Quality; that above half an Hour after, the Company were call'd into the Bed-chamber. Said, that he stood near the Bed's-foot, on the left-side, where he heard the Queen's Groans, and presently after several loud Skrieks; that the last continu'd so long, that he wonder'd how any Body could hold their

their Breath so long ; that presently after, he heard them say, the Queen was deliver'd ; that he saw the Midwife, kneeling at the other Side of the Bed, who had her Hands and Arms within the Bed-clothes for a pretty while : that then he saw her spread a Cloth upon her Lap ; that she laid the End of it over the Bed-clothes, and then fetch'd a Child (as he firmly believ'd, for he could not then see it) out of the Bed in that Cloth, and gave it to Mrs. *Delabadié*, who carry'd it into a little Room ; that he immediately follow'd the King thither, and saw the Nurse sit down by the Fire, and heard her say, It is a Boy ; upon which the King said, *Let me see it* ; that thereupon she laid open the Cloth, and shew'd them all the Child, saying, *There's what you wish to see*. Said, that he look'd upon the Child at the same Time, which appear'd to be very foul.'

Earl of *Melfort* said, ' That when he went into the Queen's Bed-chamber, he saw a great Number of Company, Lords and Ladies, standing about the Bed : That he heard the Queen cry out in great Pain, as Women use to do that are in Labour ; that he heard her complain, and a Woman's Voice, which he took to be the Midwife's, telling her, she would be quickly well : That a little after, he heard the Ladies behind the Bed say, the Queen was brought to Bed, and the Queen cry out, *The Child is dead* ; *I do not bear it* ; and immediately the Child cry'd : Said, that

that he went into the Little Bed-chamber, where the Prince was, and saw him in the Condition of a new-born Child ; and that, by the Oath he had taken, he believ'd him to be the Queen's Child.'

Lord *Godolphin* said, ' That he was call'd into the Queen's Bed-chamber with the rest of the Lords of the Council ; that he heard the Queen cry out several Times, as Women use to do that are in Labour, and that the last Cry was much greater than the other. Said, that he was call'd out of the Room to give some Directions about the Lodgings, that were preparing for the Child, which were not ready : that he made haste back again ; but, as he was coming, he met People running with the News, that the Queen was deliver'd of a Son ; whereupon he went into the Little Bed-chamber, and saw the Child.'

Sir *Stephen Fox* said, ' That being in the Queen's Dressing-Room, he heard her Majesty cry out very loudly ; whereupon he hasten'd to the *Green-Cloth*, and order'd the several Servants to deliver out of their several Offices whatsoever should be call'd for ; and that as he was returning back, he was told, a Prince was born ; upon which he went into the Little Bed-chamber, and saw the young Child before he was dress'd.'

Lieutenant Colonel *Griffin* said, ' That he was in the Queen's Bed-chamber, and heard her Majesty cry out extremely, and say, *Oh, I die,*

you kill me, you kill me! that the Midwife answer'd, *This one Pain, Madam, and 'twill be over*: That presently Mrs *Dawson* made him the Sign, that the Child was born; that then he heard the Queen say, *Don't tell me what it is yet*; that Mrs. *Delabadié* carry'd the Child into the Little Bed-chamber, and the King and the Lords of the Council went after her, but that he did not follow them.'

The Dolors Depositions. Sir *Charles Scarburgh*, first Physician to the King, said, 'That upon hearing the joyful Acclamation, that a Prince of *Wales* was born, he hasten'd presently into the Little Bed-chamber, where he found Mrs. *Delabadié* just sitting down before the Fire, with the new-born Prince, wrapp'd in the Mantles, lying in her Lap; that passing to the Queen, in the Bed-chamber, he congratulated the happy Birth of the Prince, and her Majesty's safe Delivery; that he found the Queen weary'd, and panting, but otherwise in good Condition; that the Midwife brought him the *After-birth* reeking warm; that he examin'd it with Sir *Thomas Witherly*, and found it very sound and perfect; that the Midwife with a small Knife slit the Navel-string, beyond the Ligature, from which came some Drops of fresh Blood, taken in a Spoon, and given the Child, being mix'd with a little *Black-Cherry Water*, which, to satisfy the Women, was allow'd of by himself, and the other Physicians, there being, as was conceiv'd, no Danger in the Thing. Said further, touching the

the Queen's Conception, that she often told him, and others, that she had two Reckonings; one, from *Tuesday the Sixth of September*, when the King return'd from his Progrefs to the Queen, then at *Bath*; and the other, from *Thursday the Sixth of October*, when the Queen came to the King at *Windfor*; but for some Reasons, the Queen rather reckon'd from the latter, tho' afterward it prov'd just to agree with the former.

Sir *Thomas Witberly*, second Physician to the King, said, 'That on *Sunday the 10th of June*, he was present in the Queen's Bed-chamber when the Prince of *Wales* was born; that he saw Mrs. *Delabadie* bring the Child from the Midwife, and carry him into the next Room, whither he follow'd her, and saw the Child before he was cleans'd; that having a Command from the Queen, that there should be two Drops of the Blood of the After-Burthen given the first Thing, he and the other Physicians did take two Drops of Blood from the Navel-string, which remain'd upon the Child, and gave it in a Spoonful of *Black-Cherry Water*: That, after this, he saw (as did also the other Physicians) the After-burthen entire.'

Sir *William Waldegrave*, first Physician to her Majesty, said, 'That upon the 13th of *February, 1687*, about Ten in the Morning, her Majesty told him, she had Milk in her Breasts, which dropp'd out; that it was then thought the nineteenth Week, according to one

Reckoning ; but, according to another Reckoning, it was the *one* or *two* and twentieth Week. Said, that her Majesty took such astringent Medicines, during the most Part of her being with Child, in order to avoid Miscarriage, that if she had not been with Child, they must have been very prejudicial to her Health, and of dangerous Consequence. Said, that upon the 10th of June, 1688, he was call'd, at his Lodging in *Whiteball*, to wait upon the Queen, being told she was in Labour ; that upon which he immediately went to *St. James's*, and so into the Queen's Bed-chamber, and found her beginning her Labour, it being about eight o'Clock in the Morning ; that he stirred not from thence, but to get such Medicines as were fit for her Majesty, and then return'd again, and was in the Bed-chamber when she cry'd-out, and was deliver'd. Said, that he follow'd Mrs. *Delabadie*, who took the Prince in her Arms as soon as he was born, and carry'd him into the Little Bed-chamber, where he saw him upon her Lap, and was by when he took two or three Drops of the Navel-string fresh warm Blood, which was mix'd with *Black-Cherry Water* ; that he then return'd into the Great Bed-chamber, where he saw the After-Burthen fresh and warm.

Dr. *Robert Brady*, one of his Majesty's Physicians in ordinary, said, ' That upon the 10th of June, 1688, a little before ten o'Clock in the Morning, he was in the Queen's Little Bed-chamber

Chamber at St. James's, where he saw the Prince of Wales in Mrs. Delabadié's Lap, by the Fire-side ; that he desir'd to see the Linnen and Blankets open'd, in which he was wrapp'd ; which being done, he saw it was a Male Child, and the Navel-string hanging down to, or below the Virile Parts, with a Ligature upon it, not far from the Body ; but that he did not see any After-Burthen hanging at, or joined to it, not being at the Birth.'

James St. Amand, their Majesties Apothecary, said, ' That from the Beginning of November last, 'till the 9th of June, 1688, he had generally every Day given, by the Physicians Orders, restringent and corroborating Medicines to the Queen's Majesty ; that on the 10th of June he was sent for in all haste to come to St. James's, to her Majesty, who, the Messenger told him, was in Labour : That he then receiv'd a Note from the Physicians for Medicines for her Majesty, which he was oblig'd to stay and prepare, and so came not to St. James's 'till the Queen was deliver'd. Said, That just as he was going into the Bed-chamber, he met Mrs. Delabadié, with the young Prince in her Arms ; that the King, and several of the Lords, follow'd her soon after into the Little Bed-chamber, where he saw the Child naked, before it was cleans'd from the Impurities of its Birth ; that he also saw the Navel-string cut, and some Drops of fresh Blood receiv'd into a Spoon, which he mingled with

with a little *Black-Cherry Water*, and saw given by the Physicians Orders to the Child ; and that afterwards going into the Great Bed-chamber, he saw the After-Burthen fresh.'

After these Depositions were taken, his Majesty was pleas'd to acquaint the Lords, ' That the Princess *Anne of Denmark* would have been present ; but that she being with Child, and having not lately stirr'd abroad, could not come so far without Hazard.' Adding further ;

The King's Speech after the Depositions. ' And now, my Lords, altho' I did not question but every Person here present was satisfy'd before in this Matter, yet by what you have heard, you will be better able to satisfy others. Besides, if I and the Queen could be thought so wicked as to endeavour to impose a Child upon the Nation, you see how impossible it would have been ; neither could I myself be impos'd upon, having constantly been with the Queen during her being with Child, and the whole Time of her Labour. And there is none of you but will easily believe me, who have suffer'd so much for Conscience sake, incapable of so great a Villany, to the Prejudice of my own Children. And I thank God, that those that know me, know well, that it is my Principle to do as I would be done by, for that is the Law and the Prophets ; and I would rather die a thousand Deaths, than do the least Wrong to any of my Children.'

His

His Majesty further said,

‘ If any of my Lords think it necessary the Queen should be sent for, it shall be done.’
But their Lordships not thinking it necessary, ber
Majesty was not sent for.

Upon this, the following Order of Council
 was made :

*I*T is ordered this Day, by his Majesty in Council, That the several Declarations bere before of Council made by his Majesty, and by ber Majesty the Queen Dowager, together with the several Depositions bere entered, be forthwith enrolled in the Court of Chancery. And the Lord Chancellor is ordered to cause the same to be enrolled accordingly.

In pursuance of which Order of Council, the Lord Chancellor, on Saturday the 27th Day of October following, in the High Court of Chancery, (many of the Nobility, and Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, being there present) caus'd the aforesaid Order of Council, and Declarations of his Majesty, and likewise that of her Majesty the Queen Dowager, to be openly and distinctly read in Court, as the same are enter'd in the Words aforesaid, in the Council Book. And the Lords and Ladies, and other Persons, who made the respective Depositions aforesaid, being present in Court, were sworn again, and having heard their

their several Depositions distinctly read in the Words aforesaid, and being severally interrogated by the Court to the Truth thereof, they all upon their Oaths, affirming their respective Depositions to be true; and did likewise depose, (except some few, who came in late to the Council Chamber, or some who stood at two great a Distance) That they heard his Majesty, and her Majesty the Queen Dowager, make the several Declarations aforesaid, and that the same, as they had been read, were truly enter'd, as they did believe, in the Council-Book, according to the Sense, Intent, and Meaning of what his Majesty the King, and her Majesty the Queen Dowager, did then declare. And forasmuch as the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Earl of Peterborough, who were able to depose to the Matters aforesaid, had not been examin'd at the Council-Board, but had brought their Depositions in Writing, which they delivered into Court, the said Lord Chancellor, after the said Earls were severally sworn, order'd their Depositions to be openly read, in the Words following.

Subsequens Depositions. Upon Trinity Sunday, the 10th of June, 1688, I went to St. James's House about nine of the Clock in the Morning, and followed my Lord Chancellor thro' the Lodgings to the Dressing-Room, next to the Queen's Bed-chamber, where divers Lords of the Council were met upon Occasion of the Queen's being in Labour. The King came several Times into the Room, and among other Things was pleased to

to tell us, that the Queen came exactly according to her first Reckoning, which was from the King's Return from his Progress to Bath in September 1687. After this, the Councillors were ordered to come into the Bed-chamber, and I stood on that Side of the Bed that had the Curtains drawn open. I heard her Majesty cry out several Times. I stayed in the Room during the Birth of the Prince of Wales. I saw him carried into the Little Bed-chamber, whither the King, the Lords, and myself did follow him.'

Huntingdon.

I had the Honour to be in the King's Bed-chamber in the Morning, when Word was brought him, the Queen was not well, and followed him into the Dressing-Room, next her Majesty's Bed-chamber, where I stayed till his Majesty call'd me to come in, which was about the Beginning of her Pains. I confess, - the Compassion I had for her Majesty, hearing her Cries, made my Stay there very uneasy; one of the last especially seem'd to me so sharp, as it really forc'd me to stop my Ears, to avoid hearing more of the like; when, setting them at liberty, I heard no more, but perceived a sudden Satisfaction in the Faces of the Assistants, several saying, that the Queen was deliver'd; and soon after I saw the Prince brought from about the Bed, and carry'd into the Little Bed-

K chamber,

chamber, where I saw him as a Child newly born.

Peterborough.

After which, the said Earls did severally, upon their Oaths, affirm their Depositions to be true, as they had been read, and that they were present in Council, and heard his Majesty, and her Majesty the Queen-Dowager, make the several Declarations aforesaid, and that the same were enter'd in the Council-Book, as they did believe, according to the true Sense, Intent, and Meaning of what their Majesties declar'd in

The Depo-
sitions are
enrolled. Council ; whereupon his Majesty's Attorney-General mov'd the Court, That the said Declarations of his Majesty, and of her Majesty the Queen-Dowager, and the several Depositions, and the Order of Council, should be enroll'd in the *Petty-bag Office*, and in the Office of Enrolments in the Court of Chancery, for the safe Preservation and Custody of them, which the Lord Chancellor ordered accordingly.

Thus ended this Affair ; but notwithstanding the Formality, and even Solemnity of it, and the careful Distribution of these *Depositions*, they had little or nothing of the intended Effect up-

The Suf-
pictions are
not remov'd
by the De-
positions. on the People, who were now so prepossess'd, and entertain'd the Belief of the Imposture so crudely and strongly, that they made a thousand Reflections, with a Variety of Observations upon them, and in all their Discourses

ses they appeared more *provoked* than *appeased*; and their Suspicions rather *confirmed* than *removed*. The mysterious Conduct observed at a Time, when, considering the general Suspicion, all possible Precautions ought to have been taken, to render the Birth unquestionable, made a stronger Impression on their Minds than all these Testimonies, and the rather, as they were found to be very defective. Before this Examination, the Presumption of Law was for the Prince, since he was own'd by both Parents, so that the Proof lay on the other Side, and ought to be offer'd by those who question'd it. But after the King had undertaken to prove the Reality of his Son's Birth by 40 Witnesses, of which more than 30 said nothing material, and the rest fix'd no Time to what they depos'd, he left room to his Enemies to object against these very Depositions.

First, the Queen Dowager only said, *That she Burnet's was in the Room when the Queen was deliver'd,* Remarks upon the Depositions; without any thing more positive or particular. After her, followed forty Witnesses, of which seventeen were Papists. The Testimonies of the eighteen Lords, who accompanied the King to St. James's, tended to prove, that the Queen was brought to Bed, while many Persons were in the Room. This Proof signified nothing, or was very ambiguous. It was well known, there were a great many Persons in the Room at the Time the Queen was said to be delivered; which, doubtless, was all that was meant by

this Proof. But it was not sufficient to prove the Legality of the Delivery. Some of the Ladies depos'd, that they saw the Child in the Arms of the Midwife. But as no Man in the Council durst put any Questions to the Witnesses, concerning several Circumstances, these general Depositions were incapable to remove all Suspicions. The Midwife depos'd positively, that she took the Child from the Queen's Body. The Countess of *Sunderland* depos'd, that the Queen call'd her to give her her Hand, that she might feel how [bigb] the Child lay, which, added she, *I did*; but she did not say whether she felt the Child, or not. The Bishop adds, that the Countess of *Sunderland* told the Duchess of *Hamilton* (from whom he had this Particular) that when she put her Hand into the Bed, the Queen held it, and let it go no lower than her Breasts, so that really she felt nothing. Many Ladies depos'd, that they had often seen the Marks of Milk on the Queen's Linnen near her Breasts. Two or three depos'd, that they saw it running out at the Nipple; but what is remarkable, none of these Ladies nam'd the Time in which they saw the Milk, except one, who nam'd the Month of *May*. Now, if it be true, that the Queen was really with Child till the 9th of *April*, and that she miscarried that Day, all that was mentioned of Milk in the Queen's Breasts, particularly by her that fix'd it to the Month of *May*, might have followed upon that Miscarriage, and be no Proof concerning the late

late Birth. Mrs. *Pearse*, the Laundress, deposed, that she took Linnen from the Queen's Body once, which carried the Marks of a Delivery; but she spoke only to one Time: That was a main Circumstance; and if it had been true, it must have been often done, and was capable of a more copious Proof, since there is Occasion for such Things to be often look'd on and well considered. The Lady *Wentworth* was the single Witness that deposed she had felt the Child move in the Queen's Belly; but she was a Bed-chamber Woman, as well as a single Witness, and she fixed it to no Time. If it was very early, she might have been mistaken: Or if it was before *Easter Monday*, it might be true, and yet have no Relation to this Birth.

In general, see in few Words the Use that Rapin's may be made of the Suspicions mentioned by Remarks several Authors, and of these Depositions, upon them. namely, there being three Cases, in none of which the two Parties agree, the Depositions are not applicable to any of the Cases, without being contradicted by those who maintain one of the other two Cases. Let us take, for Instance, the two Depositions, which, next to that of the Midwife, appear most convincing, namely, that of the Lady *Wentworth*, who had felt the Child in the Womb. These two Testimonies are sufficient against those who maintain that the Queen was not with Child from *January*, the Time of her declared Pregnancy, to the 10th of *June*, the Time of her Delivery.

But

But they are insufficient against those who pretend that she was really with Child from the 6th of *October* to the 9th of *April*, when she was supposed to have miscarried. To be able, therefore, to give a certain Judgment concerning the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, it is necessary, *1st*, That Facts should be agreed in; I mean, whether it be true that the Queen was really with Child, and that she had a Miscarriage. *2dly*, That those who derive their Suspicions from the Queen's obstinate Refusal to give Satisfaction to the Public, should fix the Time of this Obstinacy to the Interval between the 9th of *April*, the Day of her pretended Miscarriage, and the 10th of *June*, the Day of her Delivery. For in supposing the Reality of her Pregnancy till *Easter Week*, the Suspicions arising from the Queen's Obstinacy, cannot but be ill-grounded, unless this Obstinacy is confined to the Space of Time between the Miscarriage and the Delivery, which it is not. *3dly*, That the two Ladies, who deposed concerning the Milk and the Motion of the Child, should have fixed the Time to the same Interval, otherwise, their Testimony proves nothing against those who maintain, that the Queen was really with Child till *Easter Week*, and had then a Miscarriage; but this is what does not appear. As to the Testimony of the Midwife, which is the principal and most positive, all that can be objected to it, is, that it is a single Testimony, and that besides she being a *Papist*, might

might have been corrupted. But this is only a Conjecture, a bare Possibility. The Reasons alledged by the King, in his Speech to the Council after the Examination, was far from being convincing, since those who believed the Imposture, were perswaded that the King was chiefly concerned in it, notwithstanding all his Assverations, which were but little regarded ; and for the Excuse that was made for the Princess Anne of Denmark's not being present, none believed that to be the true Reason ; for it was thought that the going from one Apartment to another could not hurt her. So it was looked on as a Colour, that shewed she did not believe the Thing, and that therefore she would not, by her Presence, give any Credit to it.

The Author of the *Full Answer to the Depositions, and to all other Arguments whatsoever, concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales, printed in 1689,* attempts to shew, that of all the Pretences, by which it is endeavoured to varnish the said Birth, not one is feasible ; that they are not only false and frivolous at first Sight, but when explicated, bear the apparent Marks of an Imposture. Let us take a cursory View of his manner of Reasoning upon it.

The Court's mysterious Proceedings, says General he, were unjust, and directly against the Law, Remarks which decrees, in Cases of Royal Births, 25 positions Lib. Digest. Titul. 4 Sect. de Inspicio Ventre, by the Au- That the Woman shall, for several Months before, Full An- notify the Room where she intends to be delivered, ther. which

which Room shall be searched, and all the Doors belonging thereto be nailed up, and securely fastened, except one, at which Door, during such Time before the intended Delivery, shall be set honest, impartial, and responsible People, to see that no Child be conveyed into the Room, and the Confederates say she was thereof delivered. Since this legal Precaution was not taken, the least the Witnesses ought to have seen, was the Child's coming out of the Womb. Otherwise it is a very natural Quere, whether every Individual in the Nation, that but implicitly believes the Queen had a seeming big Belly, (for no one can prove it otherwise) that she said she had Milk, and was afraid of miscarrying; that she screamed; that a Child was taken out of the Bed, and an After-burthen shewn; whether, I say, every one believing these Things, cannot draw upon Oath as fair a Deposition, as any of those taken in Council? A Person's only saying she had Milk, and not shewing it, or the saying they have that which they have not, is the most notorious Imposture imaginable. As, suppose a Man is condemned to be hang'd: He pleads his Pardon; the Court desires to see it; he says he has it about him, but will neither shew it himself, nor will let others search, and will rather be condemn'd and hang'd than shew it, shall it not therefore be presumed he is a Liar? And would not he, if he had it, produce it to save his Life? So in the Queen's Case, shall it ever be presumed she had Milk, only because she said

said so, and never condescended to shew it? Had she not by shewing the Milk, saved the Crown, its Rights, and all to the Child? And can it ever be thought she would lose those Rights belonging to her Son, rather than give such easy Evidence? Certainly, No. Had there been Milk, Interest so obliged her to discover it, that doubtless her Breasts would have been shewn to every body, it being the greatest Pleasure imaginable to take off Abuses when wronged, all Persons of different Principles being willing to expose the Lyes and Forgeries of others; and the Queen being so used, would infallibly have defended herself, her Husband, and Party's Reputation, which to do, would not only have been Pleasure and Satisfaction, but the greatest Advantage of worldly Interest to herself, Husband, and Religion, she was so zealous to restore. As the having Milk then was almost as satisfactory as the Delivery, why was not the Princess *Anne* shewed it before she went to the Bath?

Besides, if she had Milk before the Birth, 'tis unusual; if after, there is neither Pretence, Proof, nor Hear-say: No Woman ever draw'd, no Doctor saw her Breast, or consider'd on her Milk, nor were any Things prescrib'd by the Doctors concerning her Breasts, altho' the Nation was more dissatisfy'd after the Delivery than before. Indeed, had the Birth been so, as to remove all Suspicion, it had been needless to speak of the Milk; but when the Suspicion

L continu'd,

continu'd, not to take off that, which you desired might cease, when you pretend you have that, which would do it, was certainly because you had not really what you pretended : Did you desire the Suspicion should continue, or desire it should cease ? If to continue, it is utterly absurd ; if to cease, why did you not use the Means, since the deferring it brought on a farther Infamy ? If the Queen desir'd either to satisfy the World, that she had Milk, knowing the World excepted against it, or desired a Child, and wish'd it to thrive and live, she ought to have kept her Milk running after the Delivery, to answer the Exceptions ; and, as the Child's Life was, perhaps, desir'd as much as any Child's ever in the World, she ought to have taken Care to preserve, and bring it up, by a Way the most certain so to do, which was to let it suck.

If it be answer'd, that the Queen had no Milk after the Delivery, it is absolutely inconsistent ; for that lean Women have it most ; and if they have Milk before Delivery, 'tis a Sign they will have it plentifully afterwards ; if she had it not plentifully, because she had it not before, then all the Pretences of having it before fall. If it be objected, that she would not suckle it because of the Trouble, 'tis very little consistent with the fervent Desire she had for an Heir ; nor can it be excused, by saying, the Queen was weak ; for neither any apparent Sign of Weakness was on her after the pretended

ed Delivery ; nor was it indeed possible she should be weak, after such an easy Labour.

* The whole Business then of the Milk stands thus : It is pretended, that about twenty-two Weeks after Conception, the Queen had Milk (which, by the way, is very unusual) yet in all that Time, did ever any pretend that they saw it ? It was never drawn ; no Medicaments were used about it, either before, or after the pretended Delivery ; nor did any *Protestant*, or other conscientious Body, ever see it ; nor was Milk shewn to any *Papist*, or other, so that there can be any Certainty inferr'd, that such Milk was the Queen's ; nor was this Milk, (which is imply'd to be of Quantity, by her being a lean Woman, and that she had much before the Birth, and consequently much after) ever given the Child ; nor was it offer'd the Nipple, to try whether it would take it, tho' so proper for its Nourishment ; the Milk was never dry'd, either by any natural Cause, nor by any Medicament prescrib'd, or made, on the Doctors, or any others Inspection thereof ; it came, continu'd, and went away, none seeing it, or using Means to dry it up. All these are such evident Marks of only pretensive Milk, that no Excuse can be offer'd in Palliation.

* The same Circumstances of an Imposture may be offer'd concerning the Queen's Belly, which was never shewn to, nor suffer'd to be felt by any *Protestant* Lady. Nor is it less a Presumption of it, that her Majesty had no

more Nurses provided than Mrs. *Delabadié* ; a Thing never known, but very agreeable to a private Design ; for this Design was only to be trusted to a few ; (the only Danger was, of having many concern'd, which was absolutely necessary to be avoided :) for Nurses, as 'tis usual, especially in a Queen's Case, are about the Child-bearing Woman long before-hand, and so could not be kept from seeing those Things all the Time of the Bigness, and at the Time of the Delivery ; which, in this Design, were not fit to be trusted to them, it being the hardest Thing to manage a Cheat by Numbers, so as to keep it for ever secret ; whereas a Juggl^e between two may be kept a thousand ways : two are poison'd soonest ; two, by natural Lives, may be sooner in their Graves, than four ; there are a hundred such Conveniences in a small Number, which cannot be kept private by many. I would ask, too, whether her Majesty did not use to provide a Wet-Nurse at her other Deliveries, and why she did not at this ? Why the Men-Midwives were not order'd to attend, as usual ? Why her Doctors of Physick were not order'd to attend against the second Reckoning ? And tho' their Majesties respective Physicians have Apartments assign'd them at all their Courts, and at all Times, whether Occasion, or none, and do attend such Apartments ; yet why attended they not, as usual, tho' the Occasion was so great ? Or why did not the Midwife lodge at Court, as usual ; and

and which had been proper, considering there was but she and the Nurse provided for the Queen? Or why, in fine, was not Notice given of the House and Room the Queen intended to lye-in in, that the Princess, or any for her, might have search'd such Room, and be satisfy'd there were no false Doors, Traps, or other private Conveyances, as the Law directs?

* There was so much Stress laid on this Law, that, notwithstanding the Heir had search'd the Woman's Belly, and was satisfy'd of her being pregnant, yet the Law and Reason provided this, after Circumspection, lest bringing a dead Child, she should change it for a living; or being a living Girl, might be chang'd for a Boy. Nay, the Law order'd that the Heir, or those by him deputed, might keep her from going out of their Sights for so many Days before the expected Delivery, and to search all that should come near her during that Time, or the Labour.

* Now as this Law obliged all who were pregnant of that which might displant another, to observe these Precautions, so it was taken for granted, that if such Precautions were not observed, there was, and might be Collusion; but if observed, it was presumed there could be none.

* If then the Law cannot presume there was an Heir truly born, unless such Directions were follow'd, much less shall that Birth be presum'd, which wilfully omitted them; and which

Omission

Omission does not bear the Marks of an innocent Negligence, but a combin'd, obstinate Refusal, to give any the least Insight or Satisfaction. So far were they from conforming to this Law, that the Place of the Birth was designedly conceal'd, 'till within a few Hours of the Queen's coming ; sometimes it being given out she intended it at *Windsor*, anon at *St. James's*, and next at *Windsor* again, in order to amuse the Nation, and defeat the Curiosity of those, whose Suspicions might put them upon disagreeable Enquiries, had the Place been known too long before-hand.

' Well, then, *St. James's* was chosen at last in all haste ; tho' it is very improbable the Queen would have lain in there, had she been really with Child, because all her other Children born there dy'd ; but as *Windsor* was the most convenient Place had it been a true Birth, but the most inconvenient one for an Imposture, so *St. James's* was the most inconvenient for the first, but the most convenient for the other, by reason of its Situation. I appeal to all Persons that know the Rooms, Stairs, and Passages, belonging to the Convent and Palace, whether a Woman might not be kept all the Time of her Bigness, or come into it any Evening, without being perceiv'd ? Whether a Woman might not cry out as loud as she would in Labour, without any Danger of being over-heard or disturbed ? Whether the Queen might not have Word brought of the Labour, slip away, and catch

catch it reeking-warm from the Womb? And whether there are not two several direct and commodious Ways, without Intricacy or Wind-ing, whereby the Child so born, may be pri-vately convey'd from the said Convent, it not being above three Rods to the Queen's Bed-chamber? This sudden Removal of the Queen, at the same Time that it prevented the Princess *Anne* from being present, so it gave a Colour of Excuse for the Pallat-Bed's being unprepar'd; but the true Reason of which Negligence was, that her Majesty might be deliver'd in the great Bed, more fit for their Purpose.

' It is urg'd, in answer to the Objection of the Princess of Orange's not being sent for till June, that it being a Case concerning the Princess's Right, *Sbe ought to have come without sending for:* To this I reply, that they ought for their own Interest to have sought her coming; and that it had been for many obvious Reasons highly improper to have come without Invita-tion. Notice, therefore, ought to have been given, that the Queen did depend on her being in *England*, long before the 10th of *June*, that all who did desire to come, or send Inspectors, might be satisfied. First, because the first Reck-oning must give the Queen more certain Signs 'twas the true one; and for that, People, who are uncertain of their Reckoning, ought to have all provided against the first; which was so far from being so in the present Case, that the Child-Bed Linnen was not brought by the Maker till after

after the Birth. All Women doubtful of their Reckoning, do provide against their first Expectation, for fear of any Fright, or Accident ; yet was not this Linnen ordered to come home till after such Expectation, which is so gross a Design, as none sure can attempt an Excuse for it.

Hitherto, then, this Birth appears not to have the usual, plain, and simple Circumstances attending the most common Births, where no Rights are contested ; but instead thereof, we have a Train of Pretences and Inconsistencies. And whereas it ought to have been publick to extremity, on the contrary, it was private to a Nicety, and all circumventing Ways were try'd to hinder the lawful Inspections of both the Princesses of Orange, and the Princess *Anne of Denmark*. There is another Circumstance, which adds to this Catalogue of Presumptions against it, and that is, the Child's being sent to *Ricbmond*, separate from the Queen, which was certainly done, that she might be freed from the Trouble of a forc'd Fondness ; for had the Child been continually with her, she must have been oblig'd to act that affected Part, which would have at last grown so nauseous and awkward, that Notice must have been taken thereof, from the Difference between a continual forc'd Indulgence, and a truly maternal Tenderness. Surely her Majesty's Fondness ought to have been great, not only as it was her only Child, but the great Hope of attaining That, which

passionately desired ; yet notwithstanding us'd all Means and Pretences to get out of her Sight, which is what a real Fondness could never have borne, but very well agreed with the Circumstances Queen.

The next Thing that occurs, is the Manner taking the Depositions ; for when a Matter is contested, such a Man charging, and such a one denying ; if the Party denying examines Witnesses, the Opponent ought to have Liberty to cross-examine such Witnesses on Interrogatories, or pertinent Questions, to find out the Truth ; for a Man may, by Equivocations and Reserves, lay a Story together, that shall, *prima facie*, make for one Party, but when sifted or explained, shall make for the other : But the Examination at the Council-Table is not the least corresponding to this Method. The King, therefore, ought, if he would have had it pass for a good Examination, not only to have sent for such Persons as were at the Labour, but should likewise have made publick Proclamation, that all Parties whatsoever, who knew any thing of the Queen's Bigness and Delivery, should come and depose upon Oath, such their Knowledge : As also, that he promis'd to indemnify, and not molest them for any thing whatsoever, which they should faithfully and impartially deliver. I must confess it is not proper for Parties to summon Witnesses against themselves ; but in this Case, where it must be

supposed there was no Guilt on the Part of the King and Queen, he ought to have seen if anything to the Purpose could have been said against the Birth, that he might have vindicated it fairly to the World.

Depositions not legally taken. ‘ So that these Depositions are not legally taken, and are no more than Affidavits drawn up as each had before consulted, for their own Safety, not to incur the King’s Displeasure. If all Child-Births are obvious, and Things the most capable of a plain Testimony and Explanation of any human Affair whatever, then I appeal to the whole World if the Evidence here given, tho’ admitted, can amount to such Proof as might have been had. The Face of these Depositions was certainly the best Gloss that was possible to be put on such a Design ; but it will soon appear how lame and weak they are, in the following more distinct Consideration of them.

Particular Remarks on the Depositions by the same Author. ‘ The Declaration of the Queen Dowager is worded with very great Diffidence ; she gives no Matter of Fact for, or against the Birth. Is it not strange for her to be at a Labour, and yet not lay down one Circumstance among so many that ever occur ? Certainly she saw nothing agreeable to a Delivery, otherwise she would certainly have spoken it, since No-body sure will say her Majesty was partial out of Love to the *Protestants*. If the Queen Dowager therefore does not prove what they design’d, and what is capable of undeniable Proof, tho’ the Thing

Thing were even true, it must be taken *pro confesso*, that the Prince of *Wales* is an Impostor.

‘ Madam *Turini* tells us, she was sent by the Queen in the Morning for the Midwife, Ladies, and Servants, for that her Majesty was in Pain. Now this being after eight of the Clock, is it possible that her Majesty, being brought to Bed so soon after, should not have any Symptoms before, and at her full Time too? That her Majesty should be up, and dress’d so soon? That all her People should be gone, and she left alone with this single Gentlewoman? The Motive is plain; their Absence was the greatest Help imaginable to their Design, and is no small Presumption of the Imposture.

‘ We are told by Mrs. *Dawson*, that she persuad’d the Queen, whom she found all alone, not to make use of the Pallat-Bed, on account of its never having been aired.

‘ Now, is not this a strange Thing, that the Queen, on the very Day she expected, should be so unparap’d of a Thing the most necessary, and which was so useful, that the Queen herself ask’d for it? Certainly it was never intended, that it should be aired or used; for can it be imagin’d, that those, who had the Charge of preparing the Lodgings for a Child-bed Woman, durst have been guilty of so gross a Neglect, if they had not thought the Omission would be agreeable? And, indeed, it had been absolutely impossible to have carried on the

Cheat by the Use of a Pallat-Bed ; so, for the Conveniency of imposing a false Birth, they dispense with the Necessity belonging to a true one. But here it will be objected, that if it was so necessary for their Design to have the Queen delivered in Bed, her Majesty might have lain a-bed all the Morning, and then coming in Labour, the Excuse of not rising had been plausible. To this I answer, first, that her rising was of absolute Necessity ; for by that Means, being dress'd, and the Waiters having done their Duties, she might send them away with the better Grace, and so lay the Child in the Bed when all alone. 2dly, By rising she had a fair Pretence to have it warm'd, and by that Means the Child might be brought in the Warming-Pan. But Mrs. Dawson says, she saw Fire carried into the Queen's Room in a Warming-Pan to warm the Bed ; which amounts to no more than a common Phrase of Speaking ; as suppose I had been in any Room where this Warming-Pan had gone thro', and having no Suspicion (as this Lady might not) should say, in common Phrase (tho' I saw not the Fire) there is Fire, or Coals, gone to warm the Bed. Is any Thing more common ? Had she really seen Fire, it would have been explain'd how she came to see it ; and it would have been prov'd by bringing the Party that took up the Fire ; and enquiring whether she that took it up cou'd swear she carried it forthwith to the Queen's Bed, and did not deliver it to another ? Where-

as she saw the Fire, when it appears, that the Warming-Pan was with the Cover down, which is unusual, and that had it been up, more wou'd have seen it, and spoke to it as well as she ; but of this, not a Word to make us believe there was Fire, but various Circumstances to shew there was not any, this Warming-Pan being brought in when not above three or four were there, and those *Papists*, and Well-wishers to the Imposition.

We are told by another, that the Queen, after having had some lingering Pains, said, she fear'd that she should not be brought to Bed a great while, but that the Midwife assur'd her Majesty that she wanted only one thorough Pain to bring the Child into the World. Now, what can this signify, more than that the Queen thought hereby to shew the little Correspondence, Agreement, or Design she and the Midwife had ? And further to shew the little Intelligence there was between them, the Queen cries, '*Tis impossible, the Child lies so bigg*', and commands the Countess of Sunderland to lay her Hand on her Belly ; but not a Syllable mentioned of the Posture she found it in. We are told further by her Ladyship, that the Queen was deliver'd ; But how does it appear ? Why because, forsooth, her Ladyship and the Midwife had agreed upon a Sign, which being given her, her Ladyship calls out, that the Queen's deliver'd. Fine Evidence truly ! But this very Intimation of the Mid-

Midwife, that it was a Boy, is utterly incongruous, for no Midwife can see of what Sex the Child is before the Burthen is come away, without Detriment to the Queen.

‘ It is said by several, that they were in the Queen’s Bed-chamber while her Majesty was in Labour, heard her cry, and the last great Pain, and saw the Prince of *Wales* when he was taken out of the Bed.

‘ These Circumstances do not in the least prove that a Child came out of the Womb, and are no more to the Purpose than if they had said, they have since seen it taken out of the Cradle. The Question is, Did they see the Child born? Otherwise their Depositions are nothing to the Purpose. As to her Majesty’s Cries, and the last great Pain, let us see what sort of Evidence they will turn out: After 8 o’Clock in the Morning, it seems, the Queen was so well, that the King, and all her Servants, left her alone; so that, after her beginning to feel Pain, and calling People, it was not above three Quarters of an Hour before she was brought-to-Bed; yet her Majesty skreams, and they talk of Pains, as one that had a long and hard Labour; yet she had not the Assistance required in the most easy Labours, and the Child was stunn’d and black as in the hardest. Now what are the Steps and Consequences of the most easy Labour? Why, a Woman may be delivered in Bed; the Child may work itself down, and not

not by the Pains force the Mother to skrieck ; for Delivery is a Work of Nature, which, as it may be different, so the hard and the easy are without Difficulty distinguished. But what a Jumble of Inconsistency is the Queen's being in Bed, according to the easiest Labours, and screaming, as at the hardest ; then having none to help her but the Midwife, when even the most easy Labours are generally better provided for.

‘ Others talk of seeing Milk run out of her Majesty’s Breast, and feeling her Belly, so as to be certain of her being with Child.

‘ As to the Milk, should any Persons see Milk drop thro’ a Woman’s Shift, about that Part covering her Breast, would they not believe the Milk ran out of her Breast ? Suppose you saw a Man with a Napkin wrapt about his Leg, and Blood should run thro’ this Napkin, might not you say that you saw his Wound bleed, whereas perhaps his Leg was never cut, but that a Spunge full of Blood was bound underneath, and by the Pressure it ran out ? So a Spunge being filled with Milk, might, at the Time the Queen designed to impose on her People, be conveyed next her Breast, and by the Pressure yield Drops enough for that Purpose. Add to this, Women have very often Milk in their Breasts many Years after they have ceased Child-bearing, and which may be drawn down so as to run out ; whereby it is evident

evident none of the Depositions can be relied on which relate to this Subject.

‘ As for feeling her Majesty’s Belly, before I give my Assent, I should be glad to have these Questions answered, *viz.* How long since was the Deponent desired by the Queen to look on it? Was it for Satisfaction against those Reports, or had she any thing to do about it?

‘ To these necessary Questions, the Deposition gives not any Answer; for first, it might be so little a while after Conception, that no Regard is to be had, especially since the Words imply no more than a View by Chance; that this Sight of the Belly was not near the Queen’s Time, appears by the Deponent’s lying-in when the Queen did, therefore she could not for a considerable Time before put on the Queen’s Smock as she lay in Bed, without great Inconveniency to herself; and her Majesty might easily counterfeit a Bigness, that was necessary to deceive the Deponent, considering the Time she pretended to be gone with Child.

‘ Another Deponent says, she put the After-burthen in a Basin of Water, which gives very just Cause of Suspicion, being done before the Doctors viewed it, and no doubt to prevent a Discovery, that it had not the natural Warmth it should have, which the Water would prevent from being found out afterwards, had the Doctors been never so inquisitive.

‘ The Midwife’s Deposition is the only positive Evidence we meet with, namely, *that she actually*

*actually delivered the Queen at that Time, of that Male-Child ; but shall an insignificant Woman, utterly incapacitated by Law to be a Witness in Civil Causes, shall she have any Credit given her, tho' she swears ever so positively, when there are so many concurring Circumstances, that prove the contrary ? Shall one single, partial, upheld Woman's saying so, be capable of raising up a Successor to be the Disturber of Europe ? Shall we give an implicit Faith to her Words, in a Matter that concerns our Laws, Liberties, and Religion ? Certainly, No ! — This Woman says, further, that, as soon as she cut the Navel-String, the Child cry'd. The Navel-String was cut in Bed, *ergo* it must, by this Reasoning, cry in Bed ; whereas another Deponent says, that she open'd the Receiver (so that the Child was out of bed) and hearing the Child cry, and seeing it a little black, she was afraid it was in a Convulsion Fit ; so that this Part of the Midwife's Deposition seems to be calculated to have it thought, that the Child cry'd sooner than really it did.*

‘ Another Deponent says, She saw all that was to be seen after the Birth of a Child, that is, Foul Linnen, After-burthen, &c. but this Lady could not say the Queen's Body was the Occasion, having seen nothing of the Womb, or Belly.

‘ The King was pleas'd to tell another Deponent, that the Water was broke, or come away :

N

Now,

Now, that the Water was broke, is a Thing depending only on the Queen's saying so ; for there is not one speaks a Word to it ; nor, indeed, was there any Body in the Room, but the Midwife, when 'tis said to have come away ; so that it rests wholly on the Queen, Mrs. Wilks, and the King's saying so. After this, it seems, *all the Company were call'd into the Queen's Bed-chamber, where they heard the Queen groan, and presently, after several loud Skrieks, they heard them say, the Queen was deliver'd.* What is all this to the Purpose towards proving the Reality of a Birth ? Suppose a Man had murder'd another, the Constable comes to search, the Murderer prays the Constable to stay 'till he call him in ; so he buries the Party he has murder'd, Cloaths and all ; lays the Floor again, washes away the Blood ; so, when the Room is dry, the Constable is admitted, but sees no more Traces of the Murder than our Privy-Counsellors did of the Birth, who were not allow'd the Liberty of looking into the only Place that could have detected the Cheat, Besides, of all the Men sent for, the *Doctors*, who could judge better of these Things, or the Truth of the Labour, than either Men or Women, not one of them was Time enough to be at the Labour, tho' all pretensively desir'd.

Several of the Deponents have sworn to the seeing the Prince in the Little Bed-chamber, and in the Condition of a new-born Child, Doubtless, it might appear to them new-born,

tho'

tho' it had happen'd above an Hour before that Time. But the most extraordinary Depositions, which answer themselves, are the two following ; in one of which it is said, *That by the Oath the Deponent has taken, he believes him to be the Queen's Child* ; in the other, *That he verily believes, as he is alive, she brought the Prince into the World that very Morning, being the 10th of June last* : Now, as the latter out-does the former, so it may be said of both, *that the Scotch Evidence out-does the Irish.*

‘ We are further told by a Lady, that she heard the Queen say to the Midwife, *Pray, Mrs. Wilks, don’t part the Child.* Her Majesty had, doubtless, more Reasons than one in desiring it. Certainly, the not cutting the Navel-string was necessary and highly convenient for keeping the Child quiet, and from crying in Bed. As a long and painful Labour was never pretended, we see here the Occasion of its Blackness; it proceeded from its being so long out of the Womb, and the Navel-String’s not being cut. Now, had the Labour been hard, then the Child would not have so suddenly and clearly got over it, as two Hours, which seem’d but while he was refresh’d from an Inconvenience and Indisposition, of not being duly enlarged after its being taken from the Womb. As a further Presumption, that the Child had been long from the Womb, it was two Hours a cleansing from its Impurities, being almost

dry'd, which no Child, taken fresh from the Womb, could be.

‘ Another Deponent tells us, That after the Delivery, she took away all the foul Linnen, hot, as they came from the Queen ; and that, for a Month after her Majesty’s lying-in, she well knows, by the washing of her Linnen, that the Queen was in the same Condition that all other Women use to be on the like Occasion.

‘ All this being no Evidence that can be rely’d on, an Answer is not necessary ; for none of the pretended Signs of a Delivery were easier to be counterfeited, than this of the Linnen.

‘ We are told by another Lady, That she did once feel the Child stir in the Queen’s Belly, while her Majesty was in Bed.’ This Part of the Deposition, in Appearance, carries some Weight with it ; but, being mention’d only in general Terms, it amounts to no more than that it was through the Cloaths ; for, had it been otherwise, she would certainly have said so ; and it was very easy to impose upon her Belief in so nice a Busines as that, especially when it may reasonably be imagin’d to have been done with Design, that the Deponent might be made use of upon any questioning of the pretended Prince.

‘ Several of the Deponents lay the chief Stress of their Depositions upon hearing the Queen cry-out ; and one, in particular, says, her Majesty, in the Extremity of her Pain, said, *Ob!*

I die!

I die ! you kill me ! you kill me ! which being such a strange sort of Evidence to prove the Birth of a Prince, intended for next Heir to the Crown, that I shall not say one Word by way of Answer to it, there being not the least Shadow of an Argument in it, since no Body can allow the Queen's crying-out to be satisfactory Evidence.

' One of the Physicians tells us, that he was present when the Prince of *Wales* was born ; but, by the wording of his Deposition, he has added Weight to our Suspicions ; for that, being a Physician, he ought to have brought Circumstances, which, in his Opinion, were convincing ; and his not giving any of the Birth, is a great Evidence against it. He says, indeed, that he saw the Child before it was cleans'd ; but the Question is, Did he see the Child born ? Suppose it had not been cleans'd 'till this Time, does it argue, that because he saw it in its Filth, 'twas born but a Minute before ! Ought he not then to have testify'd, from what he saw, that he did in his Conscience believe it born but some Minutes before ? For, tho' it was excusable in Lords, and somewhat less in the Women, yet was it highly requisite for the Doctors to speak to this, by reason of the more right Distinction to be presum'd from them than others. And as a Lawyer's Opinion is of more Validity in Law than any other Person's, so it behoved the King to make the Doctors speak to this more particularly, as we shou'd have

have given more Credit to their Testimony than that of other Persons. Why then was so material a Point smothered, when Interest call'd, but that they could not speak to it, so as to make for the King? He tells us further, that he saw the After-Burthen entire, but he does not say, it came from the Queen. A healthy Man or Woman, who should get a sound Child, and a sound After-Burthen, are Consequences; but to apply this to the Queen, is absurd; for as neither she nor the King, were healthy, so could they not have a sound Child, or a sound After-Burthen; so that what does this seeing the After-Burthen sound and entire amount to? If this was the Queen's, it could be neither entire, nor sound; if it was another more healthful Woman's, it must be both entire and sound, as the Doctor says.

‘ The Deposition of another Doctor, Sir *Charles Scarburgh*, relates to the Queen's Conception; by which I will prove, that her Majesty's first pretended Conception, by all the Circumstances, which he says her Majesty gave him thereof, was the only reckoning for which she ought to have prepared; that she came to a Day to that Reckoning; that the second Reckoning, which she pretended to prepare for, could, by her own Arguments, be no Expectance in the least; and that both of them were the Reckonings of other Women.

‘ The two Reckonings we are told of, were that of *Bath*, the 6th of *September*, and that of

of *Windfor*, the 6th of *Ottober*; but, for certain Reasons, it seems, the Queen rather reckoned from the latter; and, in a Conversation with Sir *Charles* the *December* following, she said, she had gone twelve Weeks, and was quick.

Now, Sir *Charles* knew it could not be in so short a Time after the last Reckoning, nor was it, for the Queen was then gone full sixteen Weeks; at which Time, according to the Rule of Nature in other Women, she quicken'd with her former Children, and was usually brought to Bed within three Days of full forty Weeks. What Reason had she then to set up the last Reckoning, but that the Princess *Anne*, and every one that intended to be at the Labour, should be disappointed; as, in that Case, they could not expect her Majesty's coming 'till *July*? That the last Reckoning then was the false one, is plain; and that the first was also false, is as evident: for, had the Queen been really with Child, would she have been so far from the Place intended, or so unprepar'd? Would she have been suffer'd to be so careleſs, whereby she might have endanger'd the Life of a Prince so much sought? This is a Thing, I must confess, altogether monstrous; besides, there was as much Likelihood that the 9th of *June*, on which the Queen went to *St. James's*, was the Day which she might as well look for to be her full Time, as the 12th following, which was the exact forty Weeks: For,

For, first, tho' some Women come after forty Weeks, when a Girl, yet they always prepare before, or against the forty Weeks, not knowing but they may come some Days before, as the Queen did. Secondly, that Women reckon they have gone their full Time, tho' they happen to come some Days before the forty Weeks: Would not any one then have prepar'd against that full Time, which is a Week, at least, before forty, and not have a considerable Way to go, a Pallat-Bed in the next Room, unair'd, and no Body, not so much as a Nurse, Mid-wife, nor any of Skill about her? Incredible! These Reckonings therefore were the Reckonings of the other Women, and purely calculated to produce a false Child. In short, there appears so much Design, so many Consistencies with a pretended Labour, and so many Inconsistencies with a true one, that I think it almost impossible for the most infatuated to be mistaken.

Another Doctor tells us, That her Majesty took such astringent Medicines, during the most part of her being with Child, in order to avoid miscarrying, that if she had not been with Child, they must have been prejudicial to her Health, and of dangerous Consequence; which is likewise confirm'd by their Majesties Apothecary: But, if they would have said any Thing to the Purpose, they should have told us, whether they saw her Majesty take those Astringents? If they did not, there's

no Reason but to think she threw them away ; for she would not hazard her Body, when the contrary was so easy ; so that there is no more said, than that Astringents were made ; and if any Body had seen the Queen take them, they would certainly have been brought to testify it.

' Upon the whole, if you ask, *Did you see the Child born ?* you can have no better an Answer to it throughout the Depositions, than this ; viz. *I saw it taken out of a Bed.* If you ask again, *Do you think it was convey'd there in a Warming-Pan, or otherwise ?* To this not a Word. If you ask further, *If any saw her Majesty's Milk run out plainly and perfectly from her naked Nipple ?* To this they answer, *They saw the Milk wet upon her Shift.* If it shall be urged, that the keeping the Queen cover'd in Bed, was for Modesty's sake, because of the Men ; yet why was there not that Freedom and Plainness to the Women, e'er the Men came in ; for not one of the Women, except the Mid-wife, so much as saw, or felt her naked Belly ? This is what can never be palliated ; and tho' it should be objected, that it is usually so, yet there is not usually such Occasions of Plainness, as was at this Time ; and therefore, the next Heir not being present, nor any lawfully capacitated, they ought to have been plain to ocular Demonstration.'

So far the Author of the *Full Answer to the Depositions* ; by which we may form a Judgment of the Publick Incredulity at that Time. Certain it is, no Proof would satisfy the Generality of the People, but *seeing the Child come out of the Womb :* Nay, they shew'd so little

O Regard

Regard to the *Modesty* of a *Woman*, or the *Majesty* of a *Queen*, that some said, *she ought to have been deliver'd at Charing-Cross*; in short, they attributed all that was said concerning her Milk and Delivery, to down-right *Management, Lying, and Perjury*. To such a low Ebb and Condition was the King's Credit reduced, by frequent Breach of Faith, that the Body of his Subjects would neither believe what he said himself, nor any of those, that swore for him. Thus, there is a natural Punishment attends those, who are given often to deceive, which is, *not to be believ'd, when they themselves deliver the most awful Truths.*

But, to trace this Affair regularly, and exhibit to the Publick all that we find said upon it, we must now have Recourse to the Prince of Orange's *Declaration*, wherein, among other Things, it is said,

Extraet from the Prince of Orange's Declaration concerning the Birth.

- That there were great and violent Presumptions, inducing his *Highness* to believe,
- That those evil Counsellors, in order to the gaining more Time for effecting their ill Designs, had publish'd *That the Queen had brought forth a Son*; tho' there had appear'd, both during the Queen's pretended Bigness, and by the Manner, wherein the Birth was manag'd, so many just and visible Grounds of Suspicion, that not only he himself, but all the good Subjects of the Kingdom, did vehemently suspect, *that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born of the Queen*; and that his Highness would refer the Enquiry into the said Birth, and of all Things relating thereto, to a free and lawful Parliament.
- King James, still anxious to justify the Birth, and

and gall'd at the Prince of Orange's Imputation of a pretended One, took Occasion to complain of this Passage, when he withdrew himself the second time, in the Paper he left at Rochester, before he embark'd for France ; wherein he says ;

That the Prince of Orange had not only invaded his Kingdoms, but, by his Declaration, ^{Extrae} from King had laid the greatest Aspersion upon him that James's Malice could invent. ' I appeal to all that Letter. know me, says he ; nay, even to himself, that, in their Consciences, neither he, nor they, can believe me capable of so unnatural a Villany, nor of so little common Sense, to be impos'd on in a Thing of such a Nature as that.'

During the Conferences between the Lords and Commons, occasion'd by the memorable Vote of the Convention-Parliament ; whereby the An Ob-
Throne was declared vacant, the receiv'd Maxim, ^{jection of} that the King never dies, was urged by the Peers ; ^{the House of} of Peers. and that therefore the Throne can never be said to be vacant. Hence they inferr'd, that supposing King James had abdicated, his Throne was actually devolv'd to his immediate Heir ; of which the Oath of Allegiance was an incontestable Proof ; since the Person taking it, does not, thereby, bind himself more to the King, than reigning, than to his Heirs and Successors.

To this it was answer'd by the Managers ^{The Com-} for the Commons, That ' King James having mons Reply broken that Tye, by which his Subjects were to it. bound to his Person, had thereby broken it to his Posterity : That he who succeeds to the Right of a Person deceas'd, is properly call'd Heir ; for no Man can be Heir to the

‘ *Living* : That therefore, if King *James* had
 forfeited his Right, in his Life-time, he could
 not transmit it to any one, at his Death. In
 case of High Treason, *it was argued*, that
 the Person condemn’d forfeits his Estate, while
 living ; and, being possess’d of none at his
 Death, his Heirs have no Pretence to any,
 their Right being annihilated before it could
 devolve to them. To this, it was said, might
 be added, that after having shaken off the
 Yoke of a Tyrant, it would be Madness to
 admit the Succession of an Heir, who could
 carry a Resentment of the Injury done to his
 Antecessor with him to the Throne : That if
 Necessity would justify a Nation in opposing
 a violent Invasion, and preventing their en-
 tire Ruin, the Pursuit of those Measures, as
 far as their Security requir’d, must be allow-
 able : That they agreed, that natural Equity
 and the Publick Tranquillity demanded a di-
 rect lineal Succession, as far as was consistent;
 and it was what they wish’d with the Lords;
 but that they deny’d being absolutely fix’d
 down to it.’

After an Answer like this, it was of little
 or no Moment, whether the Birth of the Prince
 of *Wales* was supposititious, or not, since, be-
 that as it will, he was declared to have *no Right*
 to the Crown. Some, however, were
 urgent for an Enquiry into his Birth, not so
 much from an Opinion, that they were bound
 to assert his Right, if it should appear that
 he was born of the Queen, as because they
 thought it would justify the Nation, and more
 particularly the Prince and the two Princesses,
 if an Imposture in that Matter could have been
 prov’d

prov'd ; and which would have gone far to satisfy many of the weaker Sort, as to all the Proceedings against King *James*. Dr. *Burnet* was employ'd in this Affair ; but after he had gather'd together a Number of presumptive Circumstances, which, in his Opinion, prov'd the Imposture more clearly than plain and downright Evidence, which was liable to the Suspicion of Subornation ; there were not wanting Persons in the most distinguish'd Stations, who look'd on the Proofs offer'd by the Doctor against the Birth, not sufficient. The Queen Dowager, the Lord Chancellor, and several other Lords and Ladies of both Religions, were present at the Queen's Labour, and had given Evidence in a legal Manner, that the Prince of *Wales* was her Son : He had been solemnly acknowledg'd as such by the Nation, by the *United Provinces*, and even by the Prince of *Orange* ; who did not seem to doubt of it, 'till many Months after. These Considerations more than over-ballanced the Doctors Presumptions. The Cabinet Council was of Opinion of *nion*, That the Evidences of his Legitimacy, the *Cabi-*
*publish'd by King *James**, rather confirm'd, *not Con-*
than remov'd the Suspicions ; and, it was
fear'd, that imperfect Testimonies of the Im- *An En-*
posture, might but make it more doubtful : *quiry into*
However, an Enquiry into the Birth of the *the Birth*
*pretended Prince of *Wales**, was moved for in *moved for*
in the House of Lords ; but rejected, with Indig- *House of*
nation. It was said, he was now sent out of *Lords*,
England, to be bred up in *France* ; an Enemy, *and re-*
both to the Nation, and to the Establish'd Re-
ligion : That it was impossible for the People *jected.*
*of *England* to know*, whether he was the same
Person,

*The Lords
Reasons.*

Person, that had been carried over, or not ; that, if he should die, another might be put in his Room, in such a Manner, that the Nation could not be assur'd concerning him ; that the English Nation ought not to send into another Country for Witnesses to prove, that he was their Prince, much less receive one upon the Testimony of such, as were not only Aliens, but ought to be presum'd Enemies : That it was also known, that the Midwife, and those Ladies, who were in the Secret of that Affair, and had deposited the most material Circumstances of the Pregnancy and Delivery, were convey'd away ; so that it was impossible to come at them, by whose Means only the Truth of that Birth could be found out. Others thought it was a deep Piece of Policy, and would be a good Security for the Nation to have a dormant Title lie, as it were, neglected, to oblige our Princes to govern well, while they would apprehend the Danger of a Revolt to a Pretender, still in their Eye. Upon all these Considerations, no further Enquiry was made into the Birth. It is true, this put a plausible Objection into the Mouth of all King James's Party : Here, they said, an Infant was condemn'd, and deny'd his Right, without either Proof, or Enquiry : That it was not just he should forfeit his Legitimacy, merely because of some unhappy Circumstances attending his Birth, namely, the Absence of the Princess Anne at Bath, and of the Lord Primate in the Tower : On this Foot, they said, how hard would be the Case of those Children, whose Mother, falling suddenly into Labour, in lonesome, or desert Places, must bring them into the World with-

without Witnesses ! Such were their Exclamations, upon the Dropping of the Enquiry.

Our *Compleat View* is now drawing to a Period. The next Mention we find made of this Fuller Birth, is by *Fuller*; who amused the House of ^{pilloried} Commons with his pretended Discoveries of the ^{concerning} *Spurious Birth* of the pretended Prince of *Wales*; but they voted him to be a notorious *Impostor*, and resolv'd, ‘ That an Address be presented to his Majesty, to command his Attorney-General to prosecute the said *Impostor* ! ’ *Fuller* was accordingly prosecuted, and sentenc'd to stand in the Pillory; which he suffer'd with an audacious Unconcernedness.

Some Years after, he was try'd at the King's Bench Bar, upon an Information, for writing, and causing to be printed, a false, scandalous, and defamatory Libel, entitled, *Original Letters of the late King James*; and another, entitled, *Twenty-six Depositions of Persons of Quality and Worth*; with *Letters of the late Queen, Father Corker, and Mrs Mary Grey*: Publish'd BY COMMAND. Being asked, *by whose Command?* He said, It was *by his own Command*. He ^{Pilloried} was found guilty, and condemn'd to stand three ^{again.} times in the Pillory; to be afterwards sent to the House of Correction, there to be whipp'd, and kept to hard Labour, 'till the 24th of October following; to pay a Fine of 1000 Marks, and to remain in Prison 'till paid: Which Sentence was executed upon him accordingly.

Thus ends our *Complete View*; and we flatter ourselves, that the Publick will think we have sufficiently made good the Title. It is surprizing, amidst such Variety of Opinions,

Con-

Conjectures, and Remarks, that this Birth, notwithstanding, should still remain in Uncertainty; and probably it will long remain so; for, to satisfy those, who only seek the Truth, a more perfect Knowledge must be had of many Circumstances, which, as yet, lie conceal'd.

We shall avoid, therefore, swelling the foregoing, by offering any Opinion of our own concerning the Birth; nor shall we make any Observations further than what will just serve to lead us to a proper Conclusion.

Conclusion. It imports but little, we apprehend, whether the Birth be *spurious*, or *not*; for tho' it was argu'd by the Earl of Nottingham in the Conferences between the two Houses, *That no Attainer of the Heir of the Crown of England could bar the Succession to the Throne, as it did the Descent to any common Person*; yet, as the Body of the Nation and the Parliament thought otherwise afterwards, and several subsequent Acts, relating to the Pretender, seem to confirm the Proceedings of that Time, that noble Lord's Opinion cannot be suppos'd to have any Weight. If the Nation has the Power of a Transfer lodg'd in them, in Cases of Extremity, as it certainly has, then, if there are any who may happen to think with his Lordship, it is hoped, upon better Consideration, they will find Reason to alter their Notions; and, for such, whose Infatuations are dangerous to themselves and Families, by a wild Attachment to the Interests of a Pretender, they cannot but find their Account in reflecting, that they are madly and wickedly espousing a *dubious Title*, in direct Violation of the *Laws of the Land*.



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